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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A HISTORICAL AND INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF INUIT DRUM DANCE IN THE CANADIAN CENTRAL ARCTIC: THE MEANING EXPRESSED IN DANCE, CULTURE, AND PERFORMANCE

by

K. PATRICIA DEWAR

SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1990

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Canada

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719 - 5th Avenue North
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 2R6

Dear Mrs. Dewar:

Thank you for your recent letter requesting permission to include photocopies of pages from the book The Spirit Sings.

Because most of the items in this exhibition were on loan to the Glenbow, I am not able to give you a blanket permission statement. However, I am providing the addresses where you can write for permission. I hope this does not cause you too much trouble.

I am pleased, however, to be able to give you permission to use the map, shown on pages 172 and 173, since it was developed by Glenbow, specifically for this book.

Congratulations on the completion of your dissertation. I look forward to seeing a copy of it someday.

Yours sincerely,

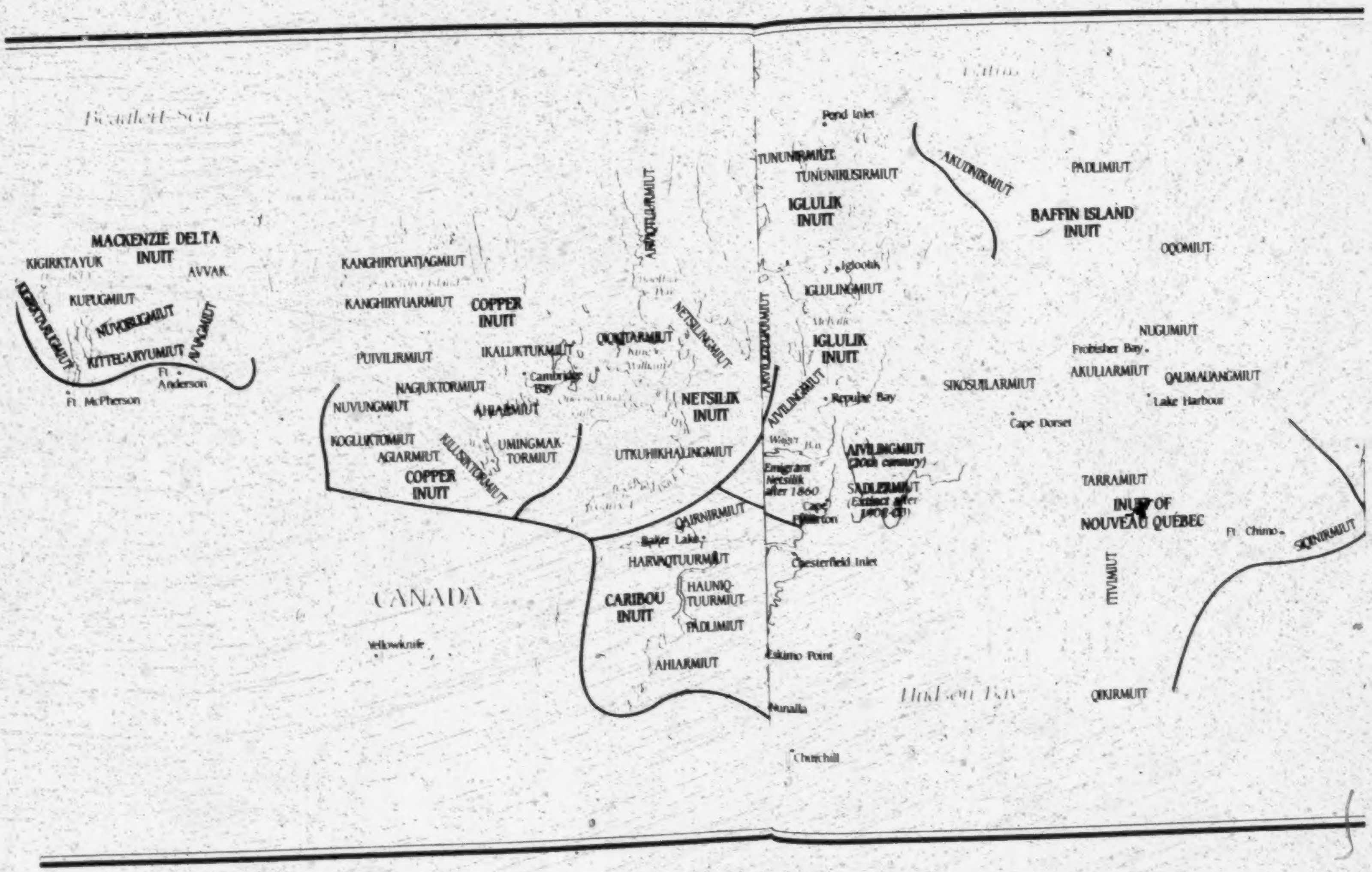
Beth Carter

Beth Carter
Curatorial Assistant
Ethnology Department

Encs.

BC/mc

130 - 9th Avenue S.E., Calgary, Alberta, Canada T2G 0P3 (403)264-8300 • Telex 03-825571 • Fax (403)265-9769



Beaufort Sea
MACKENZIE DELTA INUIT
KIGIRKTAYUK
AVVAK
KIGIRKTARUGMIUT
KUPUGMIUT
NUVORUGMIUT
KITTEGARYUMIUT
AVVAGMIUT
Ft. Anderson
Ft. McPherson
KANGHIRYUATJAGMIUT
KANGHIRYUARMIUT
COPPER INUIT
PUIVILIRMIUT
IKALUKTUKMIUT
Cambridge Bay
NAGJUKTORMIUT
NUVUNGMIUT
AHIAGMIUT
KOGLUKTOMIUT
AGIARMIUT
KILUSIKTORMIUT
UMINGMAK-TORMIUT
COPPER INUIT
ARVIQTUURMIUT
QIQIKTARMIUT
NETSILINGMIUT
NETSILIK INUIT
UTKUHIKHALINGMIUT
ARVILIGJUARMIUT
AIVILINGMIUT
QAIRNIRMIUT
Baker Lake
HARVAQTUURMIUT
CARIBOU INUIT
HAUNIQ-TUURMIUT
PADLIMIUT
AHIARMIUT
CANADA
Yellowknife
Pond Inlet
TUNUNIRMIUT
TUNUNIRUSIRMIUT
IGLULIK INUIT
Igloolik
IGLULINGMIUT
IGLULIK INUIT
Repulse Bay
Wager Bay
AIVILINGMIUT (20th century)
Emigrant Netsilik after 1860
SADLERMIUT (Extinct after 1902-03)
Cape Fullerton
Chesterfield Inlet
Eskimo Point
Nunalla
Churchill
Hudson Bay
AKUDNIRMIUT
PADLIMIUT
BAFFIN ISLAND INUIT
OQOMIUT
NUGUMIUT
Frobisher Bay
AKULIARMIUT
QAUMAUANGMIUT
Lake Harbour
SIKOSUILARMIUT
Cape Dorset
TARRAMIUT
INUIT OF NOUVEAU QUÉBEC
Ft. Chimo
SIQINIRMIUT
ITIVIMIUT
QIKIRMIUT

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August 16, 1990

Mrs. Patricia Dewar
719 - 5th Avenue North
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 2R6

Dear Mrs. Dewar:

Thank you for your fax of July 16, requesting permission to include photocopies of two maps from Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North by Hugh Brody. Please accept our apologies for the delay in replying, but this is our busiest time of the year.

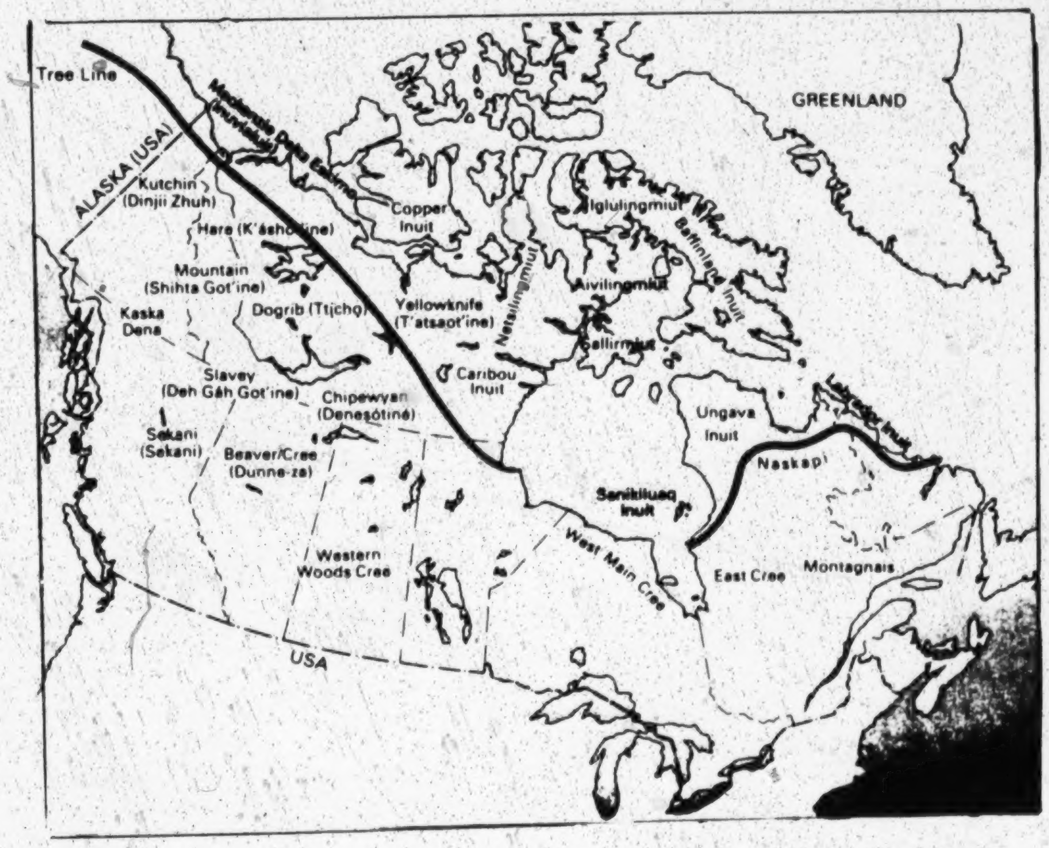
You are hereby granted permission to do so, one-time use only, for purposes of scholarly research, for no fee.

If it is not too late, perhaps you could append the following notice to each map:

> Map from Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North by Hugh Brody, published by Douglas & McIntyre. Reprinted by permission.

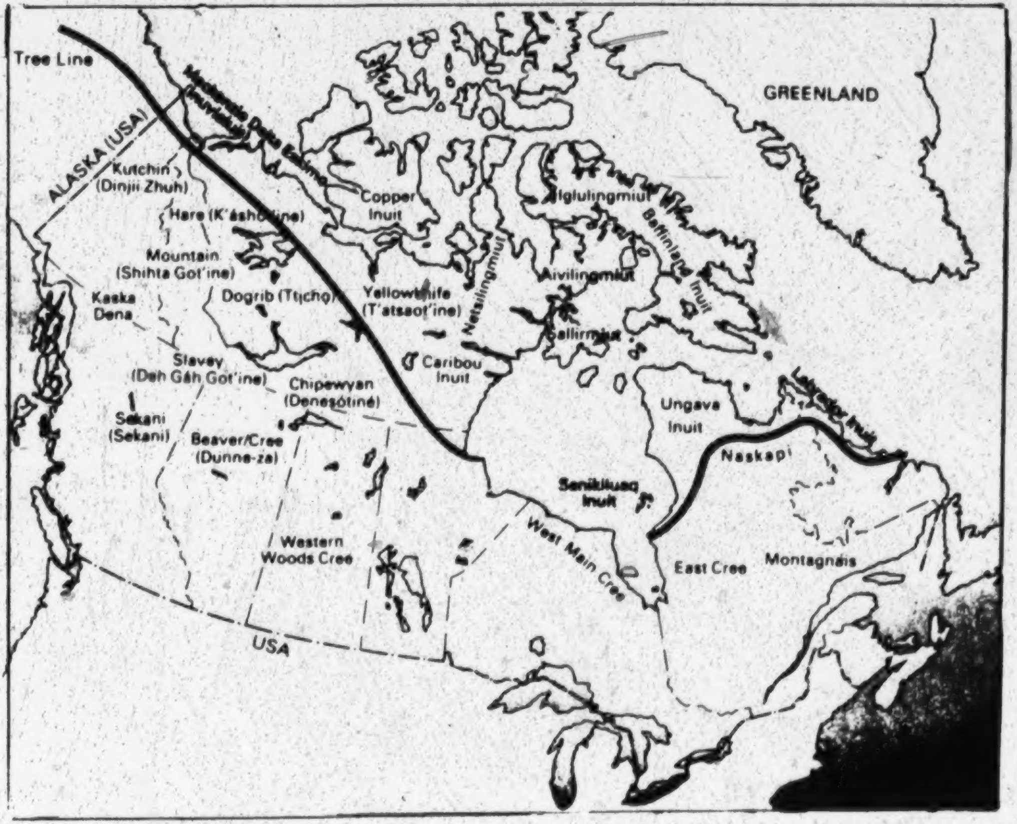
Sincerely,

Saeko Usukawa
Senior Editor


Tree Line
GREENLAND
ALASKA (USA)
Mackenzie Delta Eskimo
(Inuvialuit)
Kutchin
(Dinjii Zhuh)
Hare (K'ásho Got'ine)
Mountain
(Shihta Got'ine)
Kaska
Dena
Dogrib (Tłįchǫ)
Yellowknife
(T'atsaot'ine)
Copper
Inuit
Netsilingmiut
Iglulingmiut
Baffinland Inuit
Aivilingmiut
Sallirmiut
Caribou
Inuit
Slavey
(Deh Gáh Got'ine)
Chipewyan
(Denesóliné)
Sekani
(Sekani)
Beaver/Cree
(Dunne-za)
Ungava
Inuit
Labrador Inuit
Naskapi
Sanikiluaq
Inuit
West Main Cree
East Cree
Montagnais
Western
Woods Cree
USA

Map 3. Canadian Northern Peoples as identified by anthropologists. From Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North by Hugh Brody (1987:26), Douglas & McIntyre. Reprinted by permission.

The Inuit affix 'miut' means the people of a particular social group. The place names are approximate since there are many overlaps and historical changes in distribution.


Tree Line
ALASKA (USA)
Mackenzie Delta Eskimo
(Inuvialuit)
Kutchin
(Dinjii Zhuh)
Hare (K'ásho Got'ine)
Mountain
(Shihta Got'ine)
Kaska
Dena
Dogrib (Tłįchǫ)
Yellowknife
(T'atsaot'ine)
Copper
Inuit
Netsilingmiut
Iglulingmiut
Baffinland Inuit
Aivilingmiut
Sallirmiut
Caribou
Inuit
Slavey
(Deh Gáh Got'ine)
Chipewyan
(Denesótiné)
Sekani
(Sekani)
Beaver/Cree
(Dunne-za)
GREENLAND
Ungava
Inuit
Labrador Inuit
Naskapi
Sanikiluaq
Inuit
West Main Cree
East Cree
Montagnais
Western
Woods Cree
USA

Map 3. Canadian Northern Peoples as identified by anthropologists. From Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North by Hugh Brody (1987:26), Douglas & McIntyre. Reprinted by permission.

The Inuit affix 'miut' means the people of a particular social group. The place names are approximate since there are many overlaps and historical changes in distribution.

THE ARCTIC INSTITUTE OF NORTH AMERICA
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta, Canada T2N 1N4 Telephone (403) 220-7515

July 18, 1990

Mrs. Patricia Dewar
719 - 5 Avenue, North
Saskatoon, SK
S7K 2R6

Dear Mrs. Dewar:

In compliance with copyright regulations, we hereby grant you permission to include material from the following listed pages in the appendix of your thesis:

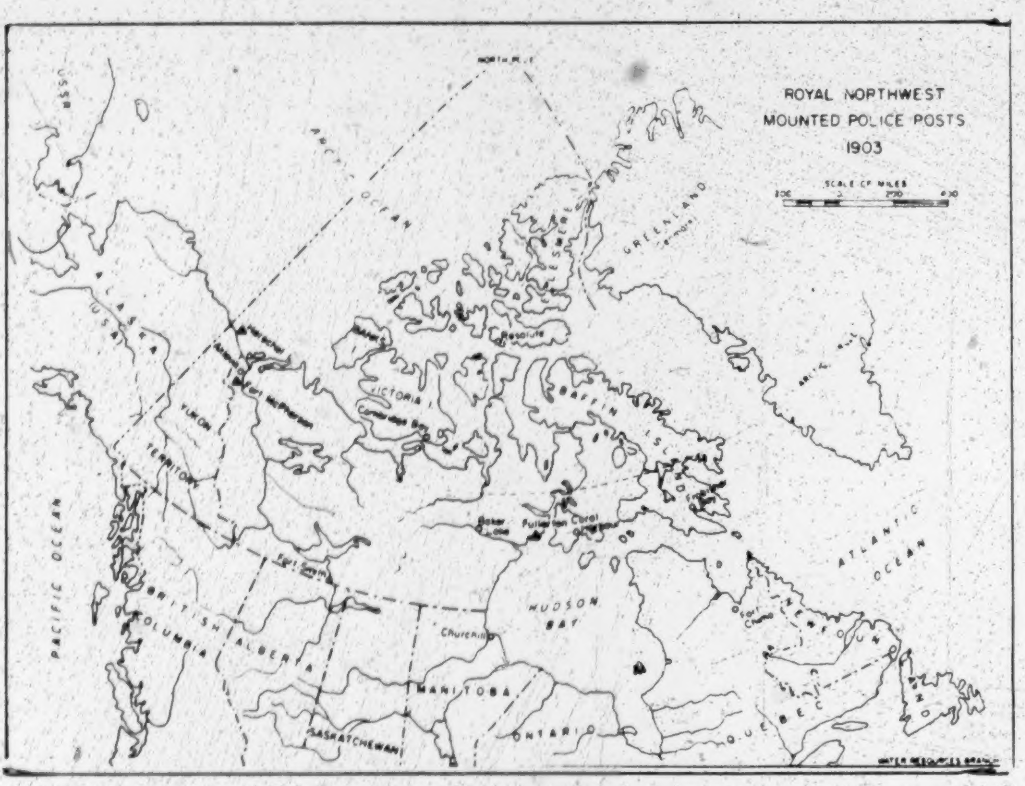
Source: Diamond Jenness, Eskimo Administration II, Canada Technical Paper No. 14. Montreal, Arctic Institute of North America, 1964.

Maps pp. 19, 24 and 37

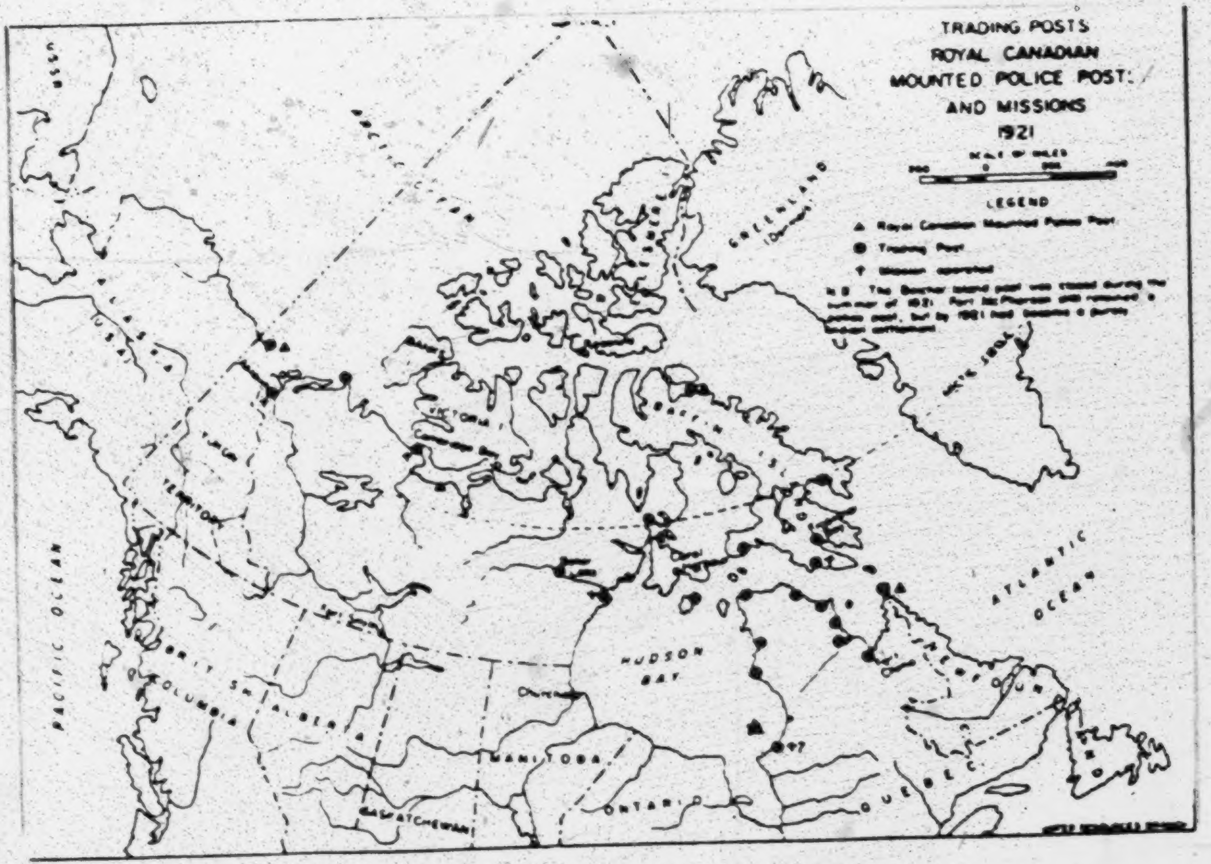
Yours sincerely,

G J Thompson for

Mike Robinson
Executive Director

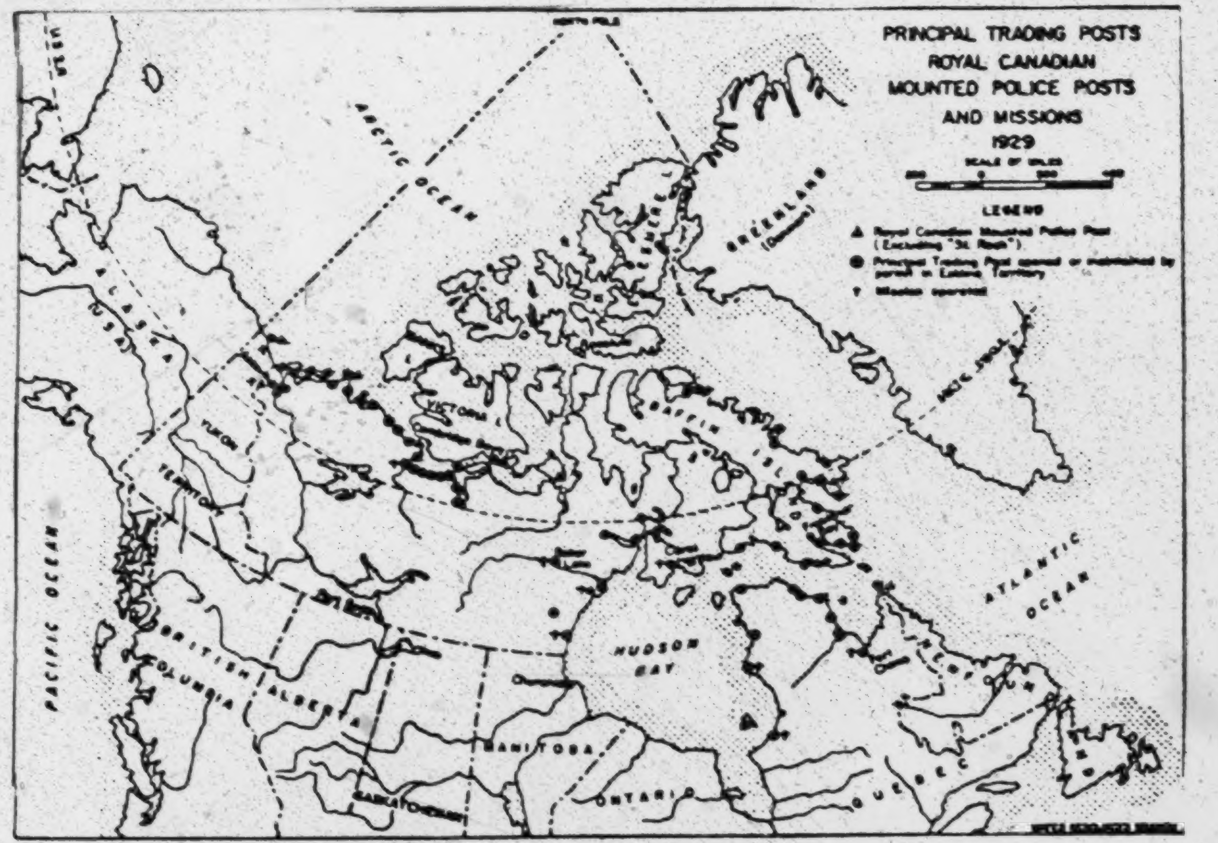

ROYAL NORTHWEST
MOUNTED POLICE POSTS
1903
SCALE OF MILES
USSR
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA
U.S.A.
YUKON
TERRITORY
Fort McPherson
VICTORIA I.
Cambridge Bay
Resolute
BAFFIN ISLAND
Baker Lake
Fullerton
Coral
Fort Smith
Churchill
HUDSON BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
NEWFOUNDLAND
WATER RESOURCES BRANCH

Map 5. Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts, 1903. From Jenness 1964:19.



TRADING POSTS
ROYAL CANADIAN
MOUNTED POLICE POST:
AND MISSIONS
1921
LEGEND
Royal Canadian Mounted Police Post
Trading Post
USSR
ALASKA
U.S.A.
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
YUKON
TERRITORY
VICTORIA
BAFFIN
DAVIS STRAIT
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
HUDSON
BAY
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC

Map 6. 1921 Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts and Missions operated Jenness 1964:24


PRINCIPAL TRADING POSTS
ROYAL CANADIAN
MOUNTED POLICE POSTS
AND MISSIONS
1929
LEGEND
NORTH POLE
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
U.S.S.R.
ALASKA
U.S.A.
YUKON
TERRITORY
VICTORIA
BAFFIN ISL.
ELLESMERE
GREENLAND
HUDSON BAY
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
LABRADOR

Map 7 . 1929 Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts and Missions operated Jenness 1964:37

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RONALD P. LEITCH, B.A., LL.B. (Retired)
H. CHARLES SHIFMAN, B.A., LL.B.

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WILLOWDALE, ONTARIO
M2M 3V3
TEL: (416) 225-1123
FAX: (416) 224-1511

July 20, 1990

Mrs. Win~~n~~ifred F. Marsh
20 William Roe Blvd.
Apt. 811
Newmarket, Ontario
L3Y 5V6

Dear Mrs. Marsh:

RE: Artwork - People of the ~~Wilderness:~~ WILLOW
PADLMIUT The ~~Padlier-muit~~ Tribe of the Caribou Eskimo, 1976
Pg. 25 - Painting of Drum Dance

We are forwarding to you a copy of a letter recently received on your behalf, for your attention.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, or you have any questions regarding this letter, please do not hesitate to contact our office.

Yours very truly,

LEITCH and SHIFMAN

Per: L. Else

for H. CHARLES SHIFMAN

HCS\le
Encl.

Permission granted with corrections a above.
Winifred
Padlemiut
'People of the Willow'
Artist acknowledged - credit

Many thanks

Winifred F. Marsh

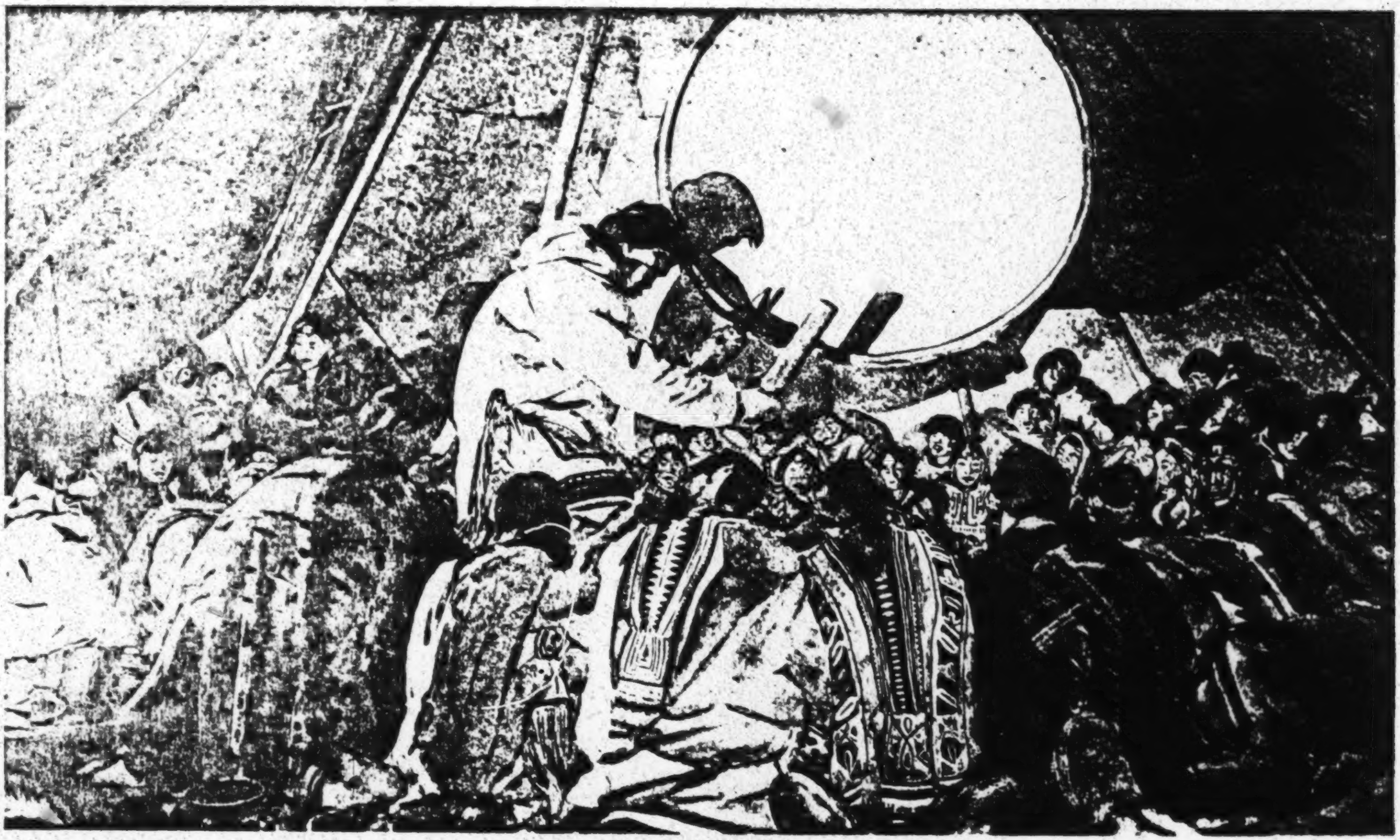

Illustration 2. Drum Dance at Eskimo Point (circa 1933). Painting by Winifred Marsh. Source: People of the Willow: Padlimuit Tribe of the Caribou Eskimo. 1976:25. Reprinted with permission.

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Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
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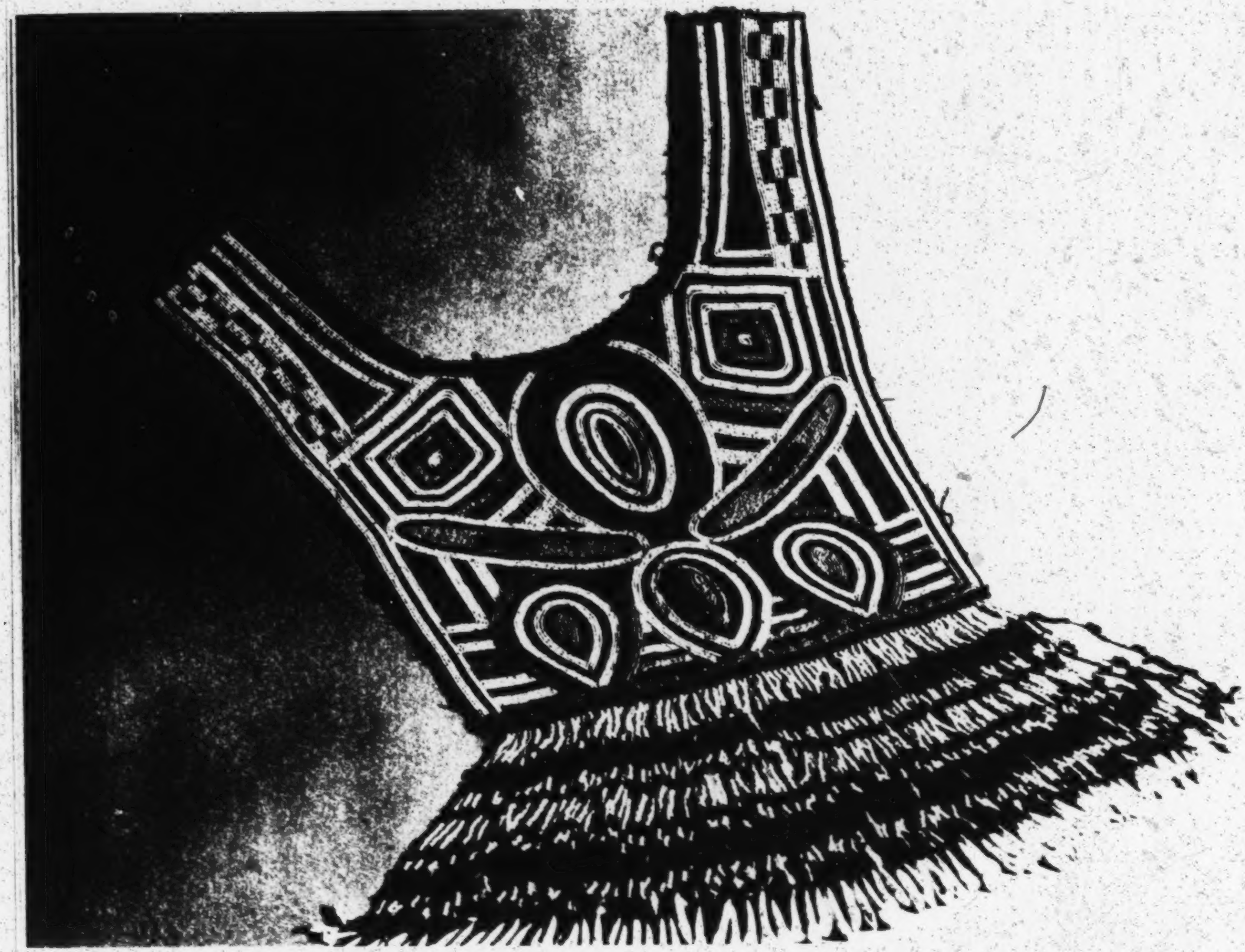
I am looking forward to seeing your thesis.

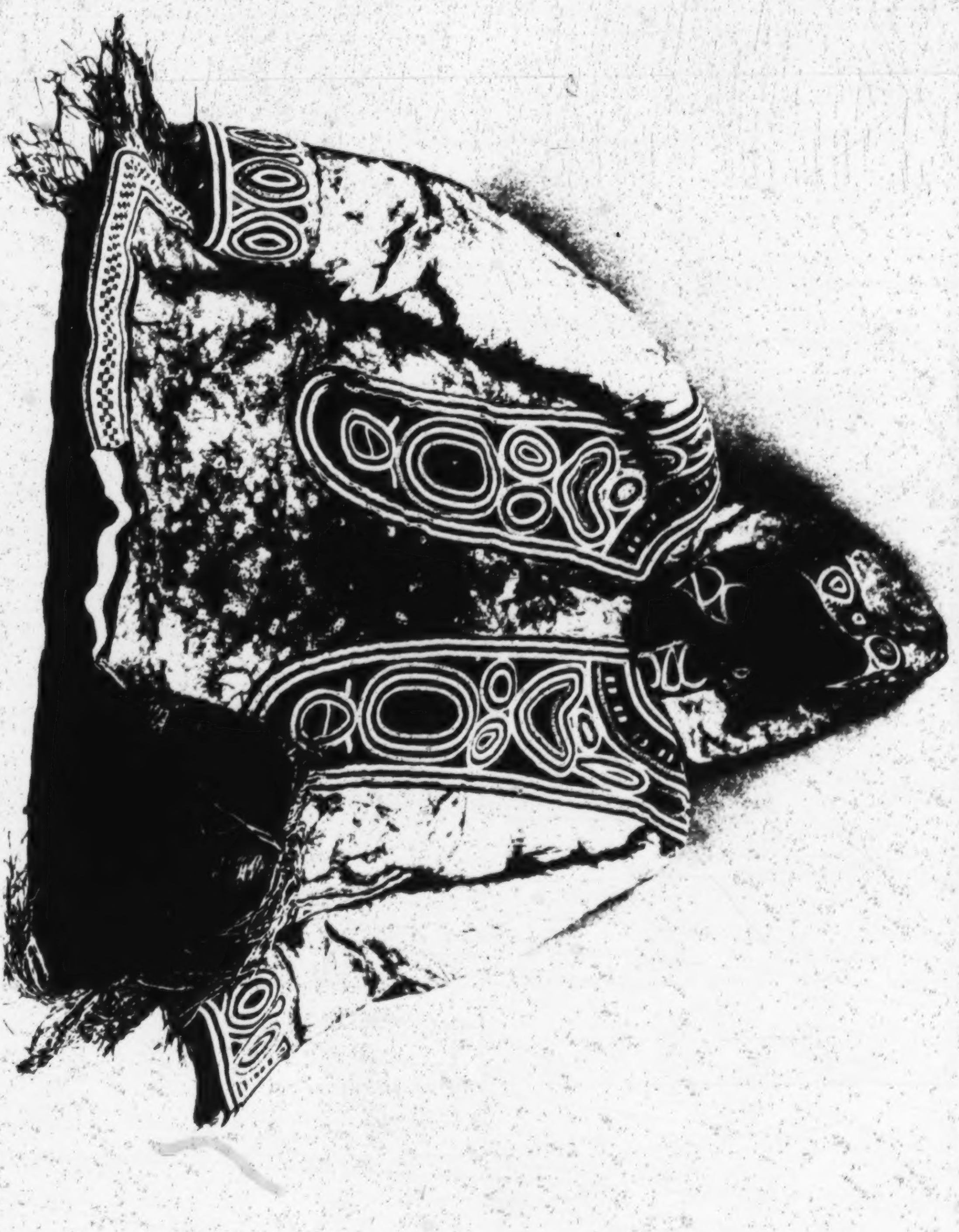
Sincerely,

Katherine Pettipas

Dr. Katherine Pettipas
Curator of Native Ethnology

/ss





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UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Frederiks gate 2 · Oslo 1 · Norway

Ms Patricia [illegible]
113 [illegible] Avenue North
Saskatoon, Sask.
S7H [illegible]
Canada

Tom G. Svensson

Aug. 31 1990

Dear Patricia [illegible],

For microfilming purposes exclusively, copyright permission is herewith confirmed concerning a photocopy derived from The Spirit Sings, 1987. Acknowledgement should be given to Ethnographic Museum, University of Oslo.

Besides this formality, may I extend congratulations to your Ph D, the title of which sounds most interesting. I also appreciate that you have found our Netsilik parka useful for illustrations. It is a beautiful piece of fur clothing indeed.

Sincerely,

Tom G. Svensson

Tom G. Svensson
Chief Curator

Illustration 9. Netsilik Inuit Men's Parka

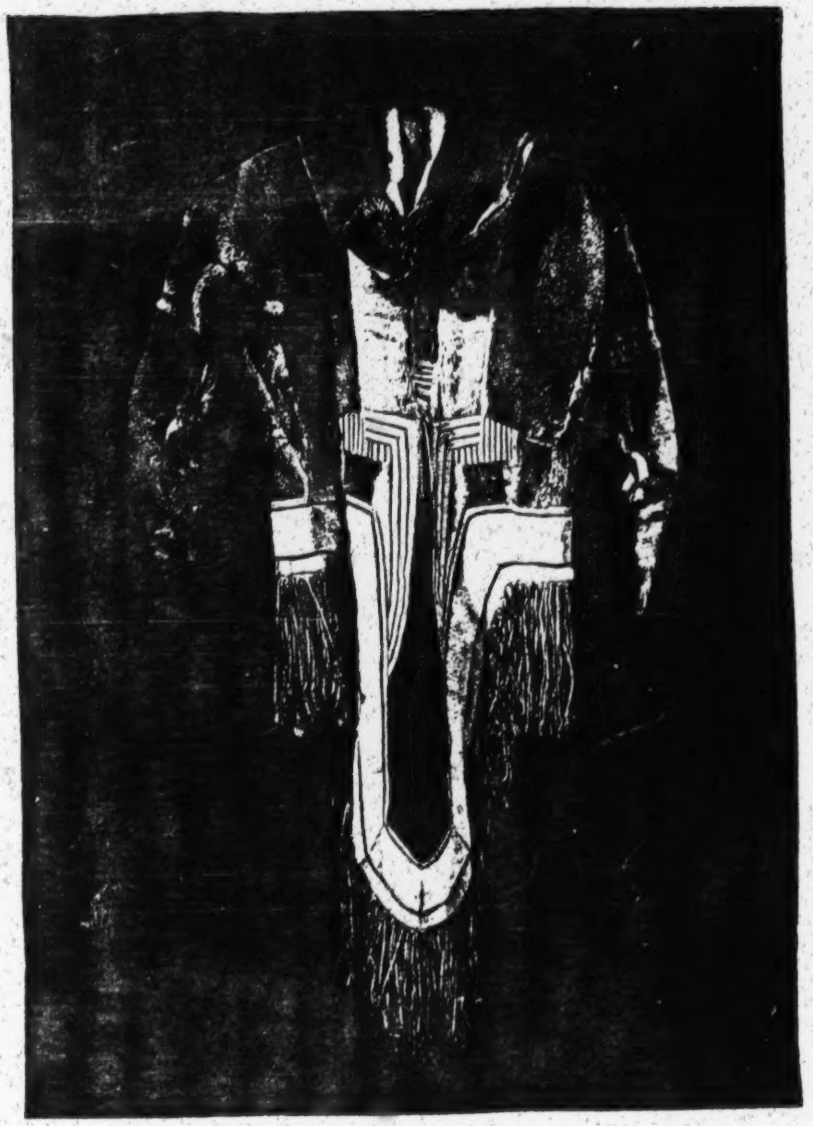

Illustration 9. Netsilik Inuit Men's Parka, back view. The fur is thicker than the Copper Inuit parka. From The Spirit Sings , McClelland & Stewart 1987:179. Collected by Norwegian explorer 1903-1905.

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OF
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THE ETHNOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
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TELEPHONE [illegible] TELEX NO [illegible] BMUS G
FAX NO [illegible]

Your reference

Our reference
CS/sv
Date
3 September 1990

Mrs Patricia Dewar
719 - 5th Avenue North
Saskatoon, Sask. S7K 2R6
Canada

Dear Mrs Dewar,

Thank you for your letter of 22.8.90.

This is to confirm that permission is granted for you to include photocopies of the following material in your thesis:

Source: The Spirit Sings,
McClelland and Stewart 1987

p 177 Plate 160 - Watercolour attributed to John White

p 191 Plate 178 - Dance costume, Copper Inuit.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Christopher Spring

pp Mr M.D. McLeod
(Keeper)

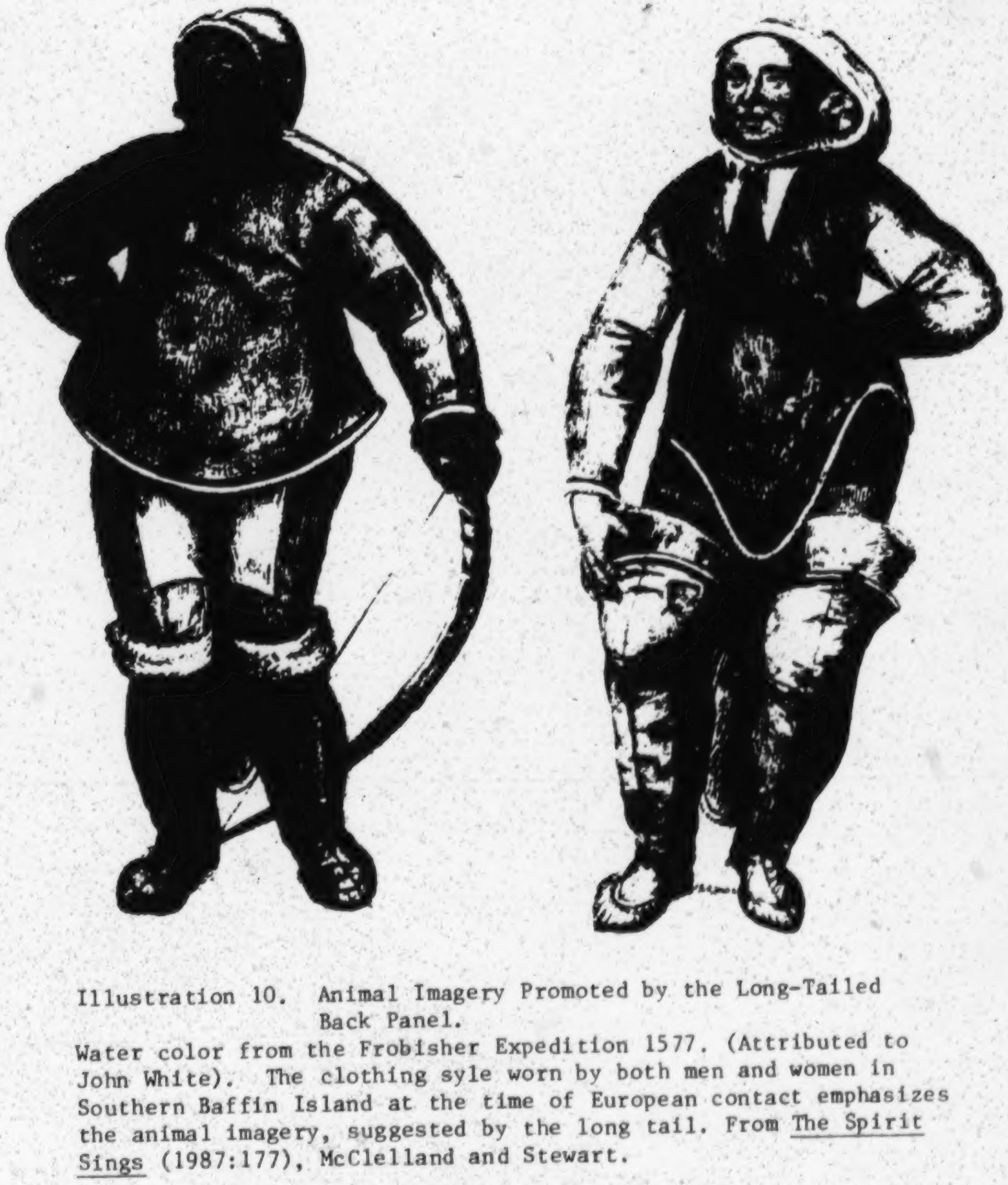

Illustration 10. Animal Imagery Promoted by the Long-Tailed
Back Panel.

Water color from the Frobisher Expedition 1577. (Attributed to John White). The clothing syle worn by both men and women in Southern Baffin Island at the time of European contact emphasizes the animal imagery, suggested by the long tail. From The Spirit Sings (1987:177), McClelland and Stewart.

Illustration 3. Example of Copper Dance Dress (front)

The front view of Copper dress jacket with front chest panels. Possibly 1931. Copyright: Museum of Mankind, London, England. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:191.

American
Museum of
Natural
History

September 7, 1990

Patricia Dewar
719 5th Avenue North
Saskatoon, Sask. S7K 2R6

Dear Mrs. Dewar:

Your letter to Stanley Freed requesting permission to include a photocopy of page 199 from The Spirit Sings in your dissertation was forwarded to me.

This letter will grant permission for such a use of that illustration.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Valerie Wheat
Assistant Librarian for
Reference

Central Park West at 79th Street New York, New York 10024-5192, USA Telephone (212) 769-5000

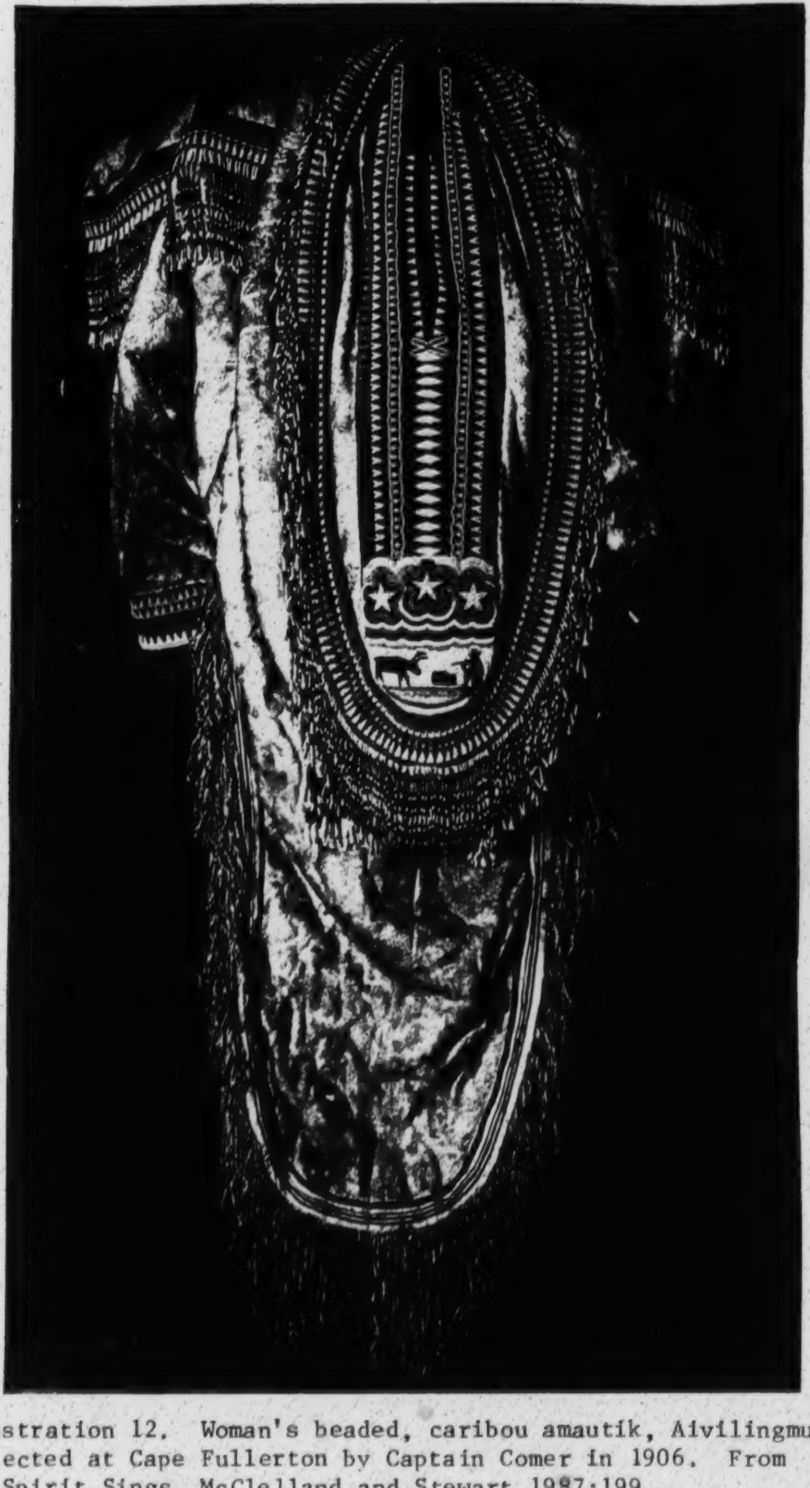

Illustration 12. Woman's beaded, caribou amautik, Aivilingmuit. Collected at Cape Fullerton by Captain Comer in 1906. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:199.

♔ Nationalmuseet
Etnografisk Samling

September 4, 1990.
Ref.No. 0.44.

Mrs. Patricia Dewar
719 5th Avenue North
Saskatoon, Sask. S7K 2R6
USA

Dear Mrs. Dewar,

In reply to your letter of August 22, I have pleasure in granting you copyright permission to a drawing of female tatooing published in "The Spirit Sings", 1987, p. 197 (plate 185), on condition that it is mentioned that the said drawing is in the possession of the Department of Ethnography, the National Museum of Denmark.

Yours sincerely,

Poul Mørk

Poul Mørk
Archivist

Midlertidig adresse temporary address Telefon Telefax

APPENDIX IV

Personal Adornment

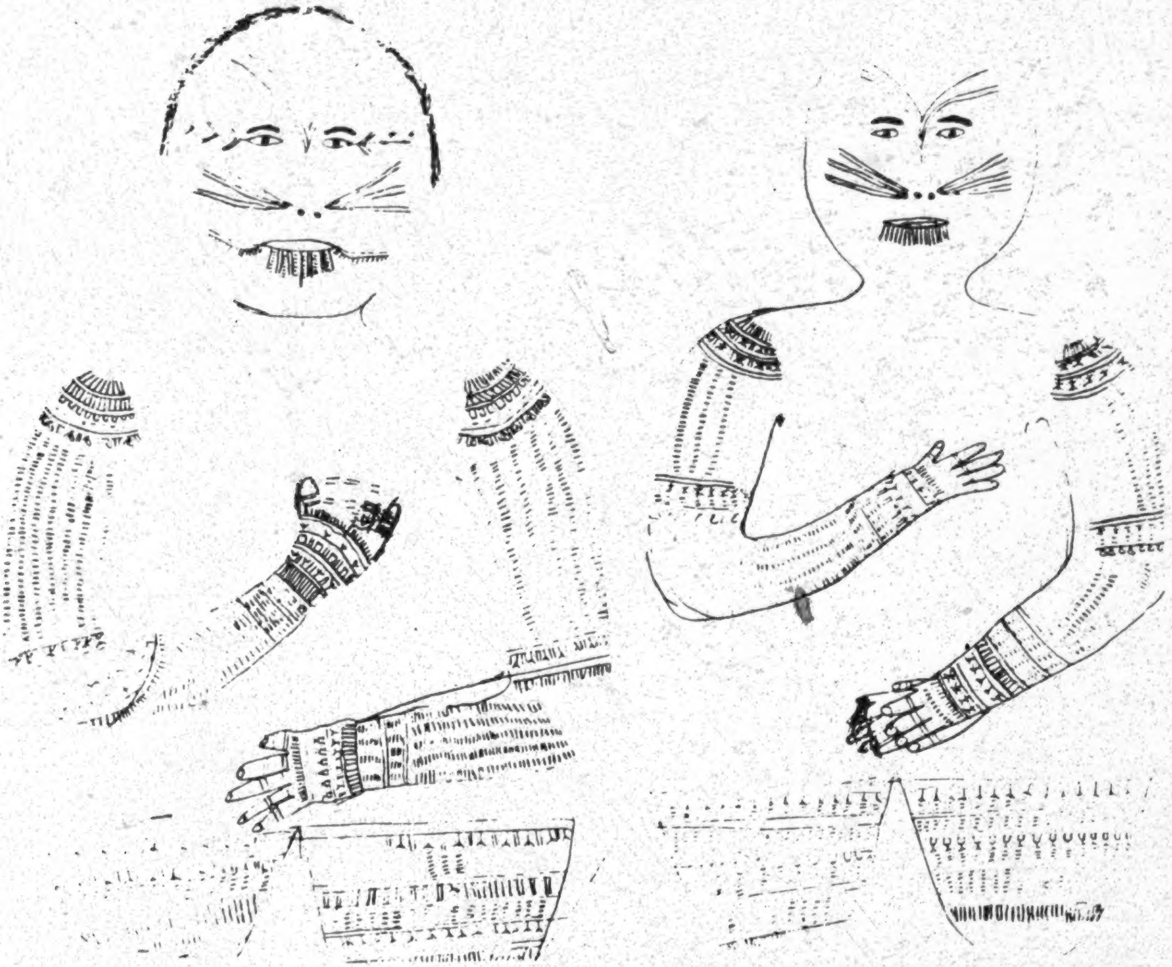

Illustration 16. Drawing of female tattooing by Arnarulunguaq, Netsilik region. National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnography, Copenhagen.

In the Central Canadian Arctic, women were extensively tattooed on the face, arms, hands, and thighs. The lines and geometric patterns were made by drawing a needle, followed by a sinew thread coated with a mixture of soot and blubber, under the skin's surface. Among the Netsilik Inuit, a tattooed woman earned the rewards of the afterlife, for she had endured pain for the sake of beauty.

The Spirit Sings,
McClelland and Stewart 1987:197.

INUIT TAPIRIIKSAT KANATAMI
ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑕᐱᕇᑦ ᑲᓇᑕᒥ
INUIT TAPIRISAT OF CANADA

September 7, 1990

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
University of Alberta

To Whom It May Concern:

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p. 171 : Kowmageak Arnakalak "Northern Lights", Inuit Today 4, 7, 47 (July/August 1975).

Sincerely,

Sheila Lumsden
for
John Amagoalik
President

Suite 510, 170 Laurier Ave. W., Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5V5 Ph: (613) 238-8181 Fax: (613) 234-1991

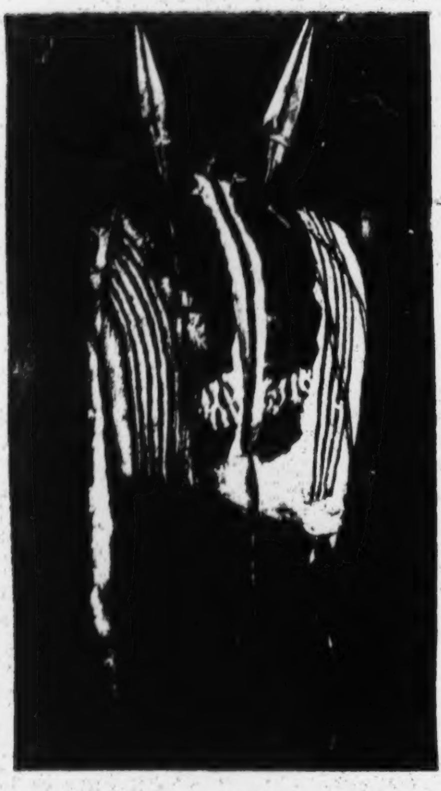
NORTHERN LIGHTS

Dance, dance across the night skies
Dance, dance a tune unheard, to a tune uncomposed
Seemingly mystical, drawing fear to a child's mind
Drawing curiosity to a man of science
It is believed you will behead me
If I whistle and intrude in your dancing games
Mothers and fathers have told us so
We show respect to your dancing games
But still, we do not understand why you dance so
Fathers have said you light their paths
During their travels through the night
Mothers have said you have beheaded
And played games of ballet with the head of the foolish one
Oh may I hear the tune you dance to
Oh may I know why you exist so
Dance, dance across the night skies
Dance, dance to a tune unheard, to a tune uncomposed.

Kowmageak Arnakalak

Inuit Today vol 4,7 July Aug 1975 . 47

Figure 6a.



Dance hat, Copper Inuit, collected c. 1915. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia NA 4233. L:33, W:17. Reprinted by permission. From *The Spirit Sings*, McClelland and Stewart, 1987:190.

UTP

University
of Toronto
Press

3 August 1990

Mrs Patricia Dewar
719 5th Avenue North
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 2R6

Dear Mrs Dewar

978-5135

Re: pp. 48-50; 171 from Northern Voices by Penny
Petrone

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Sincerely

S Rancourt
Suzanne Rancourt
Editorial Assistant

10 ST MARY STREET
SUITE 700
TORONTO ONTARIO
CANADA M4Y 2W8
FAX 416 978 4738

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703-251 Laurier Ave. W, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5J6

And: Patricia Dewar (The Licensee)
719 5th Avenue North, Saskatoon, Sask., S7K 2R6

The Licensor and Licensee agree as follows:

1. The Licensee is granted the non-exclusive rights to use the Licensor's footage as described in Paragraph 4 for the specific purposes and within the limitations set out in this agreement.

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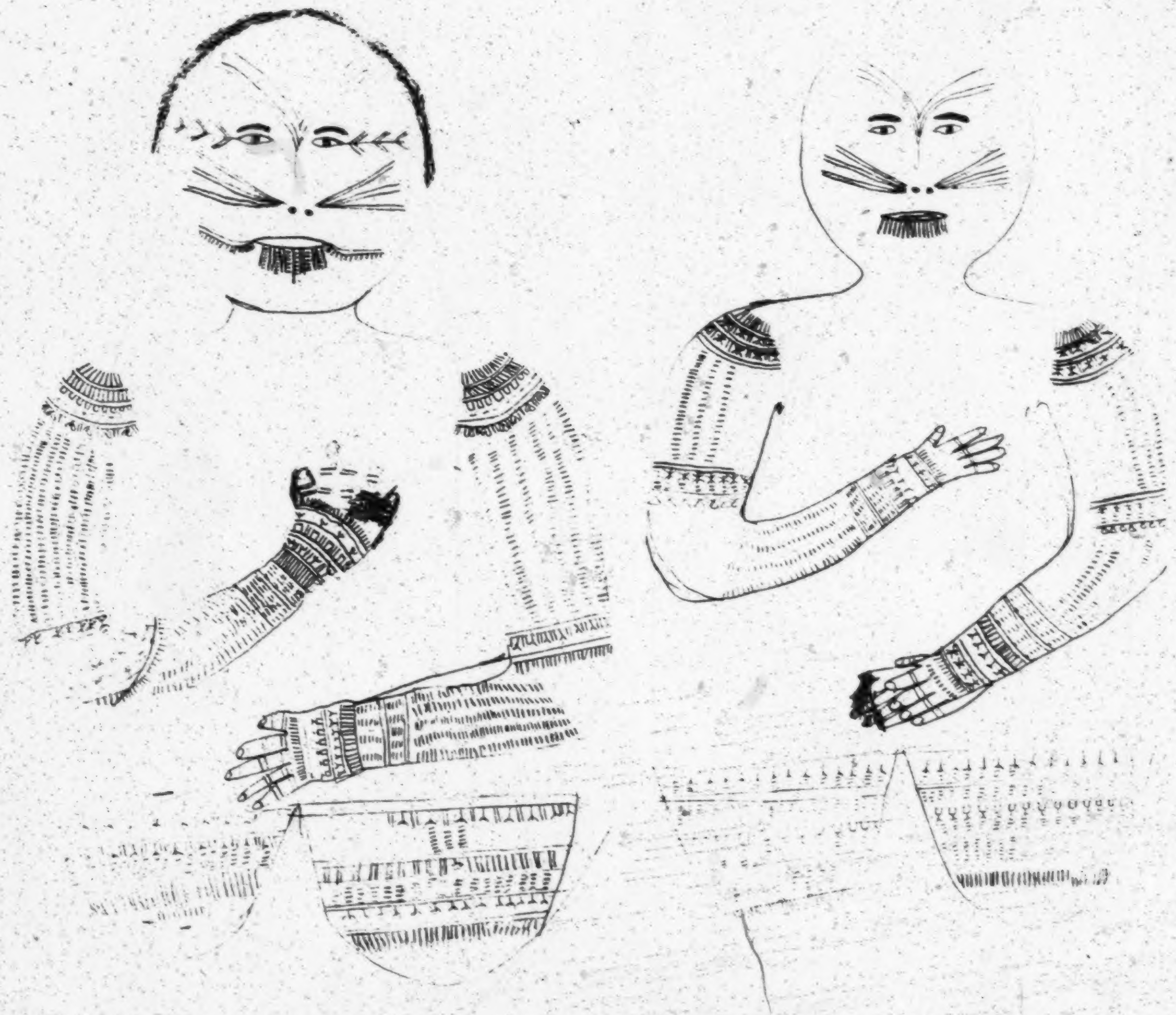

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DEGREE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Patricia Dewar

Kathleen Patricia Dewar

719 5th Avenue North
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 2R6

Date: September 1990

Oh may I hear the tune you dance to
Oh may I know why you exist so
Dance, dance across the night skies
Dance, dance to a tune unheard
to a tune uncomposed.

Excerpt from the poem 'Northern Lights'
by Kowmageak Arnakalak. In INUIT TODAY
Vol. 4 No. 7 (July/Aug) 1975:47.

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SUBMITTED BY KATHLEEN PATRICIA DEWAR

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

H A Scott

Co-Supervisor: Dr. H. A. Scott

Regula B. Qureshi

Co-Supervisor: Dr. R. Qureshi

R G Glassford

Committee Member: Dr. R. G. Glassford

M Freeman

Committee Member: Dr. M. Freeman

Dorothy J. Harris

Committee Member: Prof. D. J. Harris

Joann Marie Kealiinohomoku

External Examiner: Dr. Joann Marie Kealiinohomoku

DATE: July 9, 1990

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to illustrate how Inuit Drum Dance yields insight into itself and the larger society as it is manifested in performance. Specifically, an appreciation of Inuit Drum Dance entails the intent to make sense out of the dance not only by an examination of its grammatical structure, historical development, and place or function within a particular society, but also to examine how Inuit Drum Dance acts as a unique vehicle for making meaning through the presentation of public images, and to show how the culture is generated in accordance with the degree to which these public images are successfully shared, adapted or rejected.

Accordingly, the basic assumption in this study is that the dance, the culture and the dancer are inseparable. Although these three distinct domains are considered separately and at length, a multi-dimensional analytical framework developed in the field of ethnomusicology serves to synthesize these separate lines of research into an integrated whole.

Part I, of this five-part study, sets the stage for investigation by discussing theoretical issues and ethnographic procedures. Part II analyzes the normative,

grammatical movement structure. However, because access to Inuit Drum Dance tradition does not exist in formal theory, and its practice today is relatively limited, I attempt to reconstruct these norms with a review of the historical documents. Part III presents an analysis of the socio-cultural conventions that frame and inform Inuit Drum Dance. As necessary background to this contextual analysis, Part III also considers how drum dance is manifested in accordance with Inuit belief systems, ideologies and socio-economic conditions. This section concludes with a historical perspective whose aim is to explain how the significance of the dance has altered over time, especially under the historical influences of the whalers, fur traders and missionaries. Part IV describes two actual drum dance events, comparing and contrasting them as a way of emphasizing the formal integrity of the dance form, as well as the flexible range of variations it can accommodate by dancers dancing the dance in specific social contexts. Finally, Part V presents both a summary of the research and a statement of its potential importance for future Inuit and dance ethnologists.

PREFACE

In the Canadian Arctic, east of the MacKenzie Delta, amongst the Copper, Netsilik, Iglulik, Keewatin and Northern Baffin Island Inuit, the traditional song and dance is characterized by a solo drum dance form. Although Inuit drum dancing throughout the Central Canadian Arctic shares general traits, they are also characterized by unique features attributable to both individual and regional style differences. Today, the extent to which this dance is practiced varies widely from community to community and its devotees mostly elderly Inuit who have not lost contact with their deepest cultural roots.

In this study I analyze the movement structure of Inuit Drum Dance for purposes of incorporating it into its cultural context. Specifically, my aim is to understand what the Drum Dance is and does in Inuit society. Thus, my emphasis rests upon dance and the production of dance; the presentation of the 'what' understood in relationship to the conventional choreographic 'how' and the cultural 'why.'

My intention is consistent with a major anthropological approach which focuses on systems of communication as forms of cultural knowledge and investigates how these systems are used and realized. However, because the anthropological aim specifically directs attention towards analysis of the structure of the idiom on the one hand, and how it is operationalized in performance events on the other, a logical continuum of the cultural context emerges. In short, my stress on performance analysis serves to demonstrate how contextual inputs are indispensable to a full understanding of the movement system; the dance a means by which society both responds and constructs social and historical conditions. The approach parallels contemporary critical thought since it recognizes that cultural positioning prefigures production and reception.

Ethnography requires of its practitioners, not only a self-consciously maintained theoretical orientation, but also, most importantly, the awareness that the relevance of theory to method is shaped both by the underlying assumptions of informants, and by the conditioning that is specific to the analyst's own cultural background and disciplinary training. Thus, in order to make clear the premises on which this study is built, I will sketch the relevant influences that have in part contributed to the making of this study.

My training in dance, both as a teacher and a choreographer, has been complemented by academic studies in History, English, Physical Education, and Art History. My ability to perceive and describe movement has been enhanced by training in Labanotation. An abiding passion for dance led me to the University of California, Los Angeles, where I focused on the special discipline areas of dance ethnology and performance. Writings by dance anthropologists, particularly Kealiinohomoku, Royce, and Hanna, sparked my interest in studying dance from an anthropological perspective.

After returning to Canada I continued my studies at the University of Alberta, where the ethnomusicologist Dr. R. Qureshi directed my attention to an anthropological approach which analyzed music as a communication system, with very distinctive features. Specifically, an applied and developed methodology analyses the idiom for its structural properties and analyses the contextual features relevant to the performance process. The approach serves to identify performance variability not only as a significant trait but as a critical function of the production itself.

At a more personal and practical level of consideration, Qureshi's analytical framework is adopted for purposes of this study because it parallels my own fundamental interests and objectives. On the one hand, it explains meaning in terms of typical ethnographic concerns since it raises all the essential questions, such as: What is the dance behavior? What defines the movement parameters? What are the standards of excellence? Who is or can be a dancer? Are dancers regarded as individually gifted, or are all potentially gifted? Who are the teachers? How does instruction occur? What is the length of training? All of these questions open us to understand how dance reflects culture and culture reflects dance.

On the other hand, the model also serves to demonstrate how the meaning of dance is articulated in terms of a simultaneously structured and creative cultural activity. Accordingly, the model expands conventional concerns since critical aesthetic questions are raised, such as: What are the ingredients of form? To what extent can these ingredients be manipulated? What are the contextual inputs? How is the idiom context-sensitive?

Finally, my decision to adopt this methodology is influenced by the nature of Inuit Drum Dance itself. Specifically, because Inuit Drum Dance in the Central Canadian Arctic is manifested by a solo dancer, it is of obvious importance to account for the individual as a key performer in the performance process.

Prior to applying a developed and appropriate methodology I was granted financial assistance from the Boreal Institute to initiate fieldwork study. Accordingly, I began to formulate this study with Igloolik fieldwork (April 1986) in the Fox Basin area. During the summer of the same year, Southern performances at Expo (Vancouver) provided me with the opportunity to videotape and interview Keewatin drum dance performers from Eskimo Point and Baker Lake. Plunging in to more intensive fieldwork in April 1987, I returned to Igloolik and expanded my ethnographic domain to include Rankin Inlet and Eskimo Point (on the Western side of the Hudson Bay). I continued to attend performances, and to engage in lessons, interviews and conversations with Inuit.

My thinking has been shaped for the most part by a combination of theoretical insights, fieldwork experiences, and the adoption of a concrete methodology. However, this work would have been impossible without the assistance of several key individuals. For my academic development, I owe an intellectual debt to the ethnomusicologist Dr. Regula Qureshi. She has consistently sharpened my critical thinking by having me examine how ethnographic knowledge needs to be tested against a diversity of theoretical approaches and procedures. I am also indebted to Dr. Harvey Scott whose insightful understanding of the North and his fundamental concern that Inuit drum dance be appreciated by a wider Southern audience constantly challenged me to relate drum dancing as a reaffirmation of traditional Inuit values. As co-advisors, Dr. Scott and Dr. Qureshi helped me to impose a theoretical clarity and consistency on this multi-dimensional opus.

Under the guidance of Dr. Milton Freeman, I was taught to probe into all aspects of Inuit life. Indeed, he inspired the sense of urgency behind this inquiry with his recognition that aboriginal people learn to preserve their heritage as a matter of cultural survival. Dr. Gerry Glassford and Professor Dorothy Harris have both made significant contributions to this study through their willingness to listen and respond in a way that stimulated the best sort of critical reflection. The completion of this work also owes much to the time and knowledge willingly shared with me by my external examiner, Dr. Joann Kealiinohomoku.

I should also acknowledge that the writing of this study has benefited from the editorial skills of Bob Derksen (Saskatoon), the many hours of typing, collating, and other secretarial tasks contributed by Esther Patkau, and the invaluable translations of French-Canadian research articles transcribed for me by Dr. David Edney of the University of Saskatchewan.

Finally, those who taught me the most about drum dancing are the Inuit themselves. Although I have been generously helped by many within the community, specific acknowledgement is due to informants and interpreters who generously gave of their time and expertise. I am particularly indebted to the Igloolik performers Noah Piuqaatuq and Emile Immaroituq; the Eskimo Point performers, the Suluk family (Donald, Alice, and their daughter Mary Thompson), Annie Sewoee, and Casimir Natarqunik; and the Rankin Inlet performers, Ollie and Lizzie Ittinuar and Joe Patterk. The sharing of knowledge by Zak Kunuk (Igloolik), Eric Anoee (Eskimo Point) and Theresa Kimaliakjut (Rankin Inlet) is also greatly appreciated.

Of special value to my inquiry were the manifold contributions of George Qulaut and John MacDonald of the Eastern Arctic Research Laboratory; Guy Palmer, Principal of the Igloolik school; Hugh Lloyd of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Rankin Inlet; Michael Shouldice, Director of Inuit Cultural Institute at Eskimo Point; and Alan Code, teacher and producer of Freeline Productions. In addition, I am especially indebted to my family and friends whose strategic support enabled me to rise to the challenge of this work.

And last, because the ownership of this work essentially belongs to the Inuit and because I have been enriched by their knowledge and generosity, sincerely given and without reservation, I dedicate this study to my primary informants Noah Piuqaatuq (Igloolik), Zak Kunuk (Igloolik), and the Suluk family (Eskimo Point).

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. INTRODUCING THE STUDY

The Statement of Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is to understand and critically appreciate the Inuit Drum Dance of the Central Canadian Arctic. Since I speak as a dance educator and a choreographer, I look to dance, and the discourse that surrounds it, for indicators of what matters or is important in society. Thus I see the dance as a communicative device; the dance a "form of participation in culture and a way of creating culture" (Fraleigh 1987:23).

It is also to be recognized that the English expression 'Inuit Drum Dance' is misleading. It inadequately describes what is perceived by Inuit as a total event in sound and movement. Fundamentally, this study is unique since it approaches the complexity of Drum Dance event by stressing the dance/movement aspect, as opposed to the music/sound structure recently studied by ethnomusicologists. While in Western (Euro-American) terms the dancer's rhythmic movements may be viewed as simply a co-ordinated skill activity or moving in a dance-like manner, the Inuit in Central Canada describe it in the precise dynamic terms of to "dance with (an) Eskimo drum," (Kilaumik mumiqtuq, Cavanagh 1982:19).*

The Data

Existing documentation of Inuit Drum Dance is scarce. The primary source materials for this study include (1) the writings of ethnomusicologists B. Cavanagh, T. Johnston, J. Nattiez and N. Beaudry, (2) miscellaneous statements derived from Boas' early ethnographic work, D. Jenness' Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-18), the Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-23) compiled by K. Rasmussen, T. Mathiassen, K. Birket- Smith, and (3) the earlier accounts recorded by early explorers such as J. Rae, C. F. Hall, W. Parry, G. F. Lyon, and R. Amundsen.

Unfortunately, in reference to the dance dimension, the literature is brief, misleading, and frequently, inaccurate. Moreover, the early writers tended to stereotype the Inuit as a pan-Eskimo culture. Thus, from Alaska to Greenland, the Inuit were perceived as exhibiting the same range of behavioral characteristics, rather than as different groups of people who acquired distinctive behavioral patterns as they adapted to vastly different ecological niches. As a result, the literature does not do justice to the ethnographic reality of Inuit drum dance since even in different places the dances were made to look everywhere the same. To counter this stereotype I have focused on its local practice.

---

*The dance anthropologist J. Kealiinohomoku makes it a matter of definition that dance is consciously "recognized as dance both by the performer and the observing members of a given group" (1976:12).

The Ethnographic Domain

Although the Inuit share a basic language called Inuktituk, six regional dialects are spoken by the Canadian Inuit people. Moreover, approximately 28,000 Canadian Inuit represent eight main cultural groupings. These include the Inuit in Canada's Western Arctic (the Yukon and Northwest Territories), the Central Inuit (represented by the Copper, Netsilik, Iglulik, and Caribou/Keewatin people), and the Eastern Inuit (represented by the Baffin Island, Labrador and Ungava people). In addition, within these broad groups there are a number of subgroups.* (See Appendix I Maps 1-3).

East of the Mackenzie Delta, the traditional Inuit drum dance form is distinctly different from that of the Western Arctic. Unlike the Western area where two or more dancers dance without drums (called by Jenness, 1925:10, the aton form), the Inuit drum dance of the

---

*The subgroups represent bands, extended families and households rather than tribes where people are linked together in a corporate structure. The place names are regarded as approximate since historical changes in distribution have resulted in many overlaps.

Central and Eastern region is represented by a solo drum dancer. Specifically, it is an examination of this solo genre amongst the Central Inuit that takes place here.

Moreover, my fieldwork examination limits the ethnographic domain still further since study took place on the Melville Peninsula and the Western Hudson Bay area. While references to Inuit drum dance customs in other areas are alluded to, field work studies in the communities of Igloolik,* Rankin Inlet and Eskimo Point** provide the basis of my analysis. (See maps 1 and 4 for clarification of Inuit groups and the specific position of towns). As the reader will observe, I have not attempted a systematic comparison of different drum dance traditions. Rather, I maintain throughout that the drum dance represents a phenomenon that is characterized by arrangements both similar and different, the drum dance subject to a wide range of variations dependent upon the specific cultural circumstances in which it is performed.

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*The town of Igloolik is distinguished from the region of Iglulik; the latter represents a regional area from Repulse Bay to Pond Inlet. According to Mathiassen (1928:1) the subgroups in this region (the Aivilingmuit around Repulse Bay, the Iglulingmuit in the Fox Basin area, and the Tununirusrmuit at Pond Inlet) are "so closely related that they must be regarded as forming one Eskimo tribe with in all essentials a uniform culture."

**Eskimo Point is presently called by its original name, Arviat. Originally a summer camping ground for the inland Pallermiut, the town today is largely constituted by subgroups of the Caribou Inuit. The four main groups of the Caribou Inuit recognized by the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24 include the Qairnmiut, Haunqtuurmiut, Harvaqtuurmiut and Paallirmiut. Later Gabus (1944) added a fifth, the Ahiarmiut (Arima 1984:447).

The Objectives

My primary objective is to provide the reader who stands outside of Inuit culture with a portrayal of Inuit Drum Dance. In order to communicate a comprehensive understanding of the dance, a number of diverse perspectives are presented. Framed as it is within a detailed understanding of Inuit culture, the primary focus is ethnographic. At the same time, since the data analysis is applied to a theoretical stance, I have also attempted to provide a contribution to dance ethnology as a secondary objective. Specifically, the longitudinal threads that weave the work together are composed of two distinct modes of analyses, one capable of recording as precisely as possible the dance, its production in performance, and the other the cultural order which confers socio-dynamic meaning to the movement. The result is, I feel, an interweaving of analyses; theoretical because in part formal, and practical because in essence descriptive. Taken together, a single analytical frame enables a complex but comprehensive understanding of the dance, the culture, and the performance process to unfold.

Specifically, the theoretical frame explains dance as a communication process, the production of dance sensitive to both the import of its movement structure and its cultural context. Throughout, I assume that dance is a part of the socio-cultural process, its production both a social and a creative act. My aim is, therefore, to illustrate that Inuit drum dance, like other forms of dance, provides a form of expression and communication that deals with both the self and the community; the dance profound because it deals with the individual's response to the human condition. Accordingly, it has both social use and function.

Moreover, because this study describes a dance that has survived over time, an appreciation of the drum dance tradition requires a strong historical base. Accordingly, I have had to increase the number and diversity of chapters, since this added dimension deals with such concerns as the historical accounts that describe the movement structure, the traditional performance conditions such as the space, lighting, acoustics, traditional dress, and the rapid, widespread twentieth century influences in the North that have challenged, and in some areas, radically disrupted the traditional dance form.

Finally, a comparative objective is acknowledged since an interest in other cultures implies that understanding is achieved by noting distinctive features that define a particular culture. Thus an underlying aim of being forced to question one's own everyday assumptions about what constitutes dance is recognized.

The Procedures

I have developed this thesis in five parts. Three of these sections serve to provide a distinct view of the multi-faceted complex that is Inuit drum dance. In Part One I inform the reader of three necessary conditions that set the stage for this investigation. These include my acknowledgement that this work exists within an intellectual tradition, my presentation of an appropriate analytical model adopted from ethnomusicology, and my discussion of proper ethnographic procedures.

In Part Two, I examine the movement aspect of the dance. The purpose of this first step in analysis is to assess how far an understanding of the movement structure can take me towards my goal of explaining how the dance is context-sensitive. In other words, the attempt is to understand how the form is varied as a result of being informed from both the socio-cultural context and the movement context itself. However, because the movement parameters of Inuit drum dance cannot be directly accessed through formal theory, and the dance itself is no longer frequently performed, I attempt to anchor the idiom by examining the relevant historical accounts (Part

II Chapter I). Predictably, although the review serves to situate the dance within a particular historical period, the stereotypical nature of the accounts offer only an inappropriate interpretation of the movement structure. Accordingly, in order to investigate a conventional movement code, inquiry shifts to contemporary data; the data identifying standard drum dance norms derived from participant-observation, indigenous statements, and video-taped recordings. Furthermore, in my attempt to analyze the grammatical structure of Inuit Drum Dance, I apply Laban's interpretative method. Thus I establish the movement parameters by outlining the movement as it is described by Western concepts, terminology, and notation.

In Part Three I deal with another requirement necessary for analysis of the performance process. This section implies a consideration of the socio-cultural content. Beginning with the background dimensions, I first establish the broad parameters that inform the dance in terms of Inuit belief systems as well as the general structural norms associated with social organization and socio-economic circumstances. With this established, I narrow the focus to identify the occurrence, settings and actual participant procedures necessary to manifest a drum dance event. As a result of this inquiry we are able to perceive how Inuit concepts related to ideology and social conditions as well as the rules related to actual participant procedures interact to produce an abstract notion of performance event. In carrying out this cultural analysis I rely on an anthropological perspective, since, epistemologically, this model provides the required tools gained from ethnoscience and situational analysis.

Part Three concludes by re-introducing the historical perspective, bringing the reader up-to-date by examining the twentieth century influences that have had an impact on the drum dance. With the socio-cultural background in place, I proceed to my ultimate goal of examining the performance process itself.

In Part Four I demonstrate how performance is operationalized in response to contextual factors. At this point, the model is no longer theoretical as the subject of performance process is dealt with concretely and specifically; the evidence provided with a composite of particular cases. Thus the theory of drum dance occasion becomes translated into the actual drum dance event; the particular performance setting no longer generalized but described in terms of its distinctive features and individual performers. A distinction is therefore made between occasion and event.*

At last, by spotlighting particular events and dancers within this event we are able to explain how the variability in performance is determined by specific conditions and the self-assertive and innovative expression of particular individuals. Specifically, a focus upon the dancer enables us to chart the differences between the established norms and actual articulation of these ideals by specific performers; the individual profiles identifying the conceptual inputs and restraints. I again apply Laban's notation and theoretical framework. However, unlike the first application through which I distinguish Inuit drum dance from other dance idioms, here the analysis records distinctive features and the precise and crucial role individual style plays in performance.

Part V synthesizes the significance of drum dance into a meaningful context, offers an evaluation of the applied systematic model, and suggests implications of this study for further research.

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*Although the dance anthropologist Kealiinohomoku (1976:19) makes a distinction between dance understood as a noun and a verb, as a mentifact or phenmifact, the ethnomusicologist Herndon (1971: 340) defines occasion as "an encapsulated expression of the shared cognitive forms and values of a society ... It is usually a named event with a beginning and an end, varying degrees of organization, audience/performance and location." Further classification of occasion defined as a cognitive norm and event defined as actual behavior is provided by Qureshi. Specifically, she categorizes the abstract concept of occasion with the general question, "What is a drum dance?" and asks the specific question, "What is this drum dance?" for understanding how particular events are articulated/ realized.

Obviously, the nature of this study is multi-dimensional. Although I write for a scholarly audience, I also write for the non-dance specialist since I seek to explain the special needs skills required to interpret movement. Thus the analytical model is augmented not only with a historical perspective but by explaining and applying a Western system of movement analysis. For the most part, this thesis is written in the present tense. The exception is in discussing certain historical practices in Part III.* Wherever possible I have included the people's own statements.

B. INTRODUCING THE CENTRAL CANADIAN ARCTIC INUIT DRUM DANCE

In order for the reader to resonate with my own first experience of watching a drum dance and to become acquainted with the basic features that characterize this Inuit phenomenon in the Central Canadian Arctic I have chosen to describe a single drum dance event observed in field work experience. However, unlike most accounts of a single event, it is recorded twice. The point of presenting the same dance with two descriptions is to acknowledge something of the wide range of subjective reality that may be experienced by the same person.

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*For example, since the Inuit are a thoroughly modern people, a discussion of traditional dress is appropriately related in the past tense.

Description One is a journalistic account that utilizes a discursive or analytical mode of attentiveness; the essential action recorded with the basic concerns of answering the familiar questions of who, what, when, and where.

In contrast, Description Two sets forth a non-discursive mode of attentiveness; the observation more reflective or contemplative. As a result of engaging in observation synonymous with "just looking" and enjoying the sensory perceptions, the description is more experiential.

Specifically, Description Two seeks to clarify my impressions of how a drum dance is characterized by both a quantity and quality of energy associated with an arousal pattern of accumulative repetition. The description confirms Rasmussen's observation that drum dancing represents a certain type of event where energies are built slowly. Taken together, the following etic descriptions of experiencing the drum dance remind the reader that the phenomenon of the drum dance requires a holistic perspective; the manifestation complex not only in relationship to the event, but in terms of the subjective reality of its participants.

The Inuit Drum Dance: A First Experience

Description One: A Journalistic Account

At the Western edge of the Hudson Bay and within the ground floor living space of a Greenland-designed home,* a traditional drum dance is about to commence. The space is filled not only with growing numbers of people, but with the sights, sounds and smells of everyday life. A pot of tea is warming on the stove in the kitchen alcove. Cigarettes burn and drying clothes hang as lifeless forms across the corner walls of lived-in space. The sounds of greeting, laughter and children blend together to complement the warmth of family dwelling.

Opposite the front door and on a couch along the adjoining left wall, half a dozen seated women singers, dressed in traditional and colorful dress, await the incoming guests. Extending further along the same wall a group of men begin to gather. Standing and sitting, they converse mainly among themselves. In contrast, the slightest indication of approaching sound appears to produce a visible stirring of excitement amongst the women. Broad smiles and expressive eyes extend welcome to familiar faces across the space.

Among the men, a squatting figure attends to a short-handled, large-framed drum. Practiced, confident gestures signal traditional before-event procedures of 'wetting' or tuning the skinhead drum by slackening and tightening the pliable scraped-skin surface. Although the activity appears to be of little interest to most, it is of central interest to several of the gathered men.

Using well-trained facial muscles and initiating the action by sipping water from a nearby cup, the squatting man makes a series of blowing and sucking actions, using his mouth in a rhythmic fashion to hose water over the pliable skinhead. A subsequent free-hand gesture completes the movement phase initiated by the oral action.** A sensitive palm action simultaneously spreads water to unmoistened areas and checks for the desired tautness that conveys tonal qualities to the drying skin. The process takes only a few minutes and is repeated several times, both before and during the event.

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*A recent two-storey Northern housing design characterized by upstairs bedrooms and open ground floor plan. The latter space is appropriate for intimate drum dance gatherings.

**This techniqueof spraying water from the mouth was similarly employed to create a coating of ice on the bottom of sled runners; the traditional technology making a more efficient running surface.

Eventually the drum is carried to the centre of the space and left there. The drum is carefully placed, with the drum facing towards the ceiling and the short beater closely tucked under the frame or placed near the handle. The period of waiting, with the drum as the visual centre piece, corresponds roughly with the gathering time of expected community members.

A growing collective awareness encourages the commencement of the event. An older man who acts as host for the evening moves forward into the isolated space at the centre. Picking up the drum, he fulfills the nonverbal request of the group to begin. Almost simultaneouly, a chorus of women's voices, edged with the confident voice of the dancer's wife, fills the space. As the sounds of drum and song interweave, and the volume of sound increases, the kinetic impulses of the solo drum dancer also quicken.

In the beginning, however, it is the sound of the drum rather than the movement of the dancer that is noticed. Holding the drum by its short handle and in his left hand, the drum dancer begins by raising the drum in front of his body. Slowly, steadily, the coordinating action of the arms initiates the sound of tapping. Not surprisingly, the body position matches this tentative tapping of the drum hand; the whole body movement held or rendered inert as partial weight shifts are initiated sideways. Gradually, however, as a binary rhythm is established, the tension line of the dancer's body begins to lessen. The hovering upper body lowers forward over the drum, and the whole body action gives way to an increasing involvement of moving body parts. Within a circular floor pattern, the dancer moves with moderate pace, invention and control. As a repetitive step pattern unfolds, the drum rotates like a "huge wavy potato chip."* Suddenly, the drum is silenced, the women's aijai** voices cease, and with the end of the rhythmic pattern, the dancer vacates the visual centre.

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*The image belongs to an Inuit informant, George Qulaut of Igloolik.

**Although the term aijai specifically relates to the syllables that constitute the repetitive refrain of traditional song, it is used here to refer to the traditional drum dance song in general.

The dramatic pause silently signals those who love to dance to take their turn in one long evening of generalists spectating and performing.

Description Two - An Experiential Account

With the growing dusk, the booming sound of an Inuit drum drowns out the familiar evening noises of blowing snow, whining skidoos and barking dogs. The magnetic force of the pulsating drum beat continues to draw men and women into the crowded space of the home-dwelling. Filling and overfilling the space, the gathering extends into the doorways, halls, and even window frames where spectators look in. As the walls seem to recede, a physical wall of community appears to emerge; the touching bodies suggesting a sense of protected space where qualities of intimacy and intensity are encouraged to reside.

At the core of experiencing Inuit Drum Dance is the absorption of powerfully paced rhythms pulsating through a body of kinetic listeners. Slowly, gradually, the repetitive sound of vibrating drum, the shifting weight of the solo dancer, the walking pulse of song, and the ceaseless refrain of sliding aijai voices create a rhythmic monochrome wash of endless sound and motion.

In seated shapes, the women raise and lower their singing voices in a narrow pitch range. Shutting out distractions, their bodies rock and sway. Their eyes are closed, semi-closed or open. The efforts of voice, and the efforts of different moving torsos moving differently provide a harmony of enclosed shapes. The drum dancer, with eyes similarly open, semi-closed or closed, listens to the duple sounds of song and drum, and the kinetic rhythms of time and force.

Slowly, rocking in sideways motion and at a lullaby pace, "the dancer warms to the drum, and the drum to the dancer."* One by one, out of a variety of possibilities, and with varying degrees of ability, the dancer begins to juxtapose rhythms through his own body. Countering the monochrome wash of duply rhythms, the dancer discharges energy throughout his entire body. Despite the orientation towards a moderate pace, the dancer's sensory motor pleasure is in keeping the energy level high. The dancer remains absorbed with both the quantity and

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*Noah Piuqaatuq of Igloolik.

quality of energy use. He appears to judge the movements correct only if the efforts are moved and monitored from one body-segment to another.

As he moves into the dance, the rhythms grow more complex. As he enjoys the beat, he does not attempt to follow or be on the beat. Instead, the timed actions of feet, head and torso contribute to making another beat.

Occasionally the already high level of energy becomes punctuated with even stronger bursts of energy. With good dancers, as the vibrating sound of the drum manifests itself with a quality of resilience and lightness, the body's movements correspond with an increased ease of effortlessness.

Not infrequently, the dancer shouts with glottal and diaphragmatic pulsations which accent the rhythm. The visceral sensation heightens the effect of immediacy to such a degree that expression appears to be judged complete only if the dancer's innermost self supports the expression.*

At the end of each dance, energies appear to break, suspend, or be forthcoming. The sense of resolution does not conclude in a definitive ending but moves forward in a series of collective, repetitive phases of adding and starting over again.

The accumulative process of rotating dancers links arousal to an intensity of energies which develops in building or renewing phases, followed by a brief interlude of exchange where energies are slowed or relaxed.** As the alternating pattern slowly interweaves the excitement of the event contrasts energies of extraordinary activities (that is, of drum dancing and singing) with the ordinary drama of everyday life, such as people chatting, smoking, drinking coffee, and moving about.

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*The surrender of personal self for total expression suggests an Inuit aesthetic since dancers who do not make a sound are identified as "shy" (nilliqsijuituq).

**The performance theorist R. Schechner (1985:12) notes that accumulative patterns in performance are analogous to a Japanese performance code or an aesthetic described as an "abrupt breaking and starting over." Called "jo-ha-kyu", jo builds force, ha liberates the force, and kyu increases the rapidity of culmination.

The duration of renewal and exchange phases varies. Generally, the interlude of exchange is characterized by slowed energies. At the same time, a format of waiting one's turn implies a repetitive phase of renewal where energies are prevented from lapsing into pauses considered too long.

Less skilled dancers appear to extend the slowed interlude phases with energies which sustain or remain stable as opposed to fragile. However, the phase appears to hold energy by re-directing the focus from the novice dancer's motor activity to a layered context of socio-cultural meaning; the dance event analogous to a public learning session encouraging the idea of participation for both young and old. In contrast to the novice dancer, the good dancer appears to be conscious of moving the energy forward to develop the line of melodic intensity. This is suggested by informants who explain that it is important not to wait too long between turns.

Inherent in the process of accumulative intensity is the feeling of stretching time, of rhythms meeting and parting and running beside one another over an extended period. The overwhelming impact of durational rhythm upon an engaged 'listener' is the illusion of crossing a matrix of time or of a plein-air atmosphere where metaphoric qualities are assigned to space. A parallel world of possibilities develops as the drum dancer - without a mask, without engaging in mime or uncanny actions of animal likeness, and despite the fact that he is wielding a heavy drum and employing only functional movements of everyday, the dancer "can be most anything."*

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*Informant Zak Kunuk of Igloolik

C. THE RELEVANT QUESTIONS

From the above descriptions, it is self-evident that Inuit drum dancing definitely differs from conventional Euro-American dance forms. Predictably, because of these obvious differences ethnocentric questions arise. We might justifiably ask, why is the movement continuous, the action never stilled? Given the rhythmic intensity of the drum dance event, why does the pace of the singer and dancer remain relatively moderate? Why does the dance quality appear to emphasize strength as distinct from ideals of ethereal lightness stressed in some Western dance forms? Why does the format of the dance include a warmup? Why do participants 'take turns'? Why are the singers mainly women and the dancers mainly men? Why is it that the dancer's status is apparently enhanced with age? Why do the dances and the accompanying song vary so much in length? Why are novice dancers regarded as an integral part of performance event? In summary, why is this dance meaningful to Inuit, and what are the limits of variation in these dance events?

Obviously, Inuit drum dancing is subject to a wide range of internal variations depending upon location, historical period, performance occasions, and even as the preceding descriptions have demonstrated, upon a potential range of subjective perceptions within the same event. The last point emphasizes that among the participants themselves the reality of event is pluralized since the manner of attending produces variable dimensions of consciousness. However, despite these significant variations, Inuit drum dance is an integrated form. In all its manifestations, the participants know what they are doing; their striving related to generating the familiar rhythmic patterns of drum, dance and song that characterize Inuit Drum Dance.

Indeed, it is this basic sameness in Inuit drum dance events that presupposes the existence of a set of established norms. Thus, it is out of an incredible array of diverse variables - (the flexible dance structure, the emotional needs of participants, the mood of the moment, the choice of personal text, the relative familiarity of the song, the identity of the dancer) - that the duration and intensity of the drum dance unfolds as though by inaudible decree.

Having observed the ways that cultural contexts and the phenomenon of drum dancing are forged in diverse performances, in diverse situations, and for diverse reasons, suggests that performance varies because the idiom is context-sensitive. This is the hypothesis I wish to test in the course of this study. Thus, in an attempt to formulate answers to the preceding questions, an approach to dance studies unfolds.

PART I

THE THEORETICAL APPROACH AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCEDURES

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PART I THE THEORETICAL APPROACH AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCEDURES

CHAPTER I THE THEORETICAL APPROACH

> The general feeling in a quaggi (festival house) amongst men and women enlivened by song is something that cannot be conveyed save by actual experience.
> (Rasmussen: Amongst the Iglulik, 1929, 11:1)

> When I am to render some account of the inexplicable manner in which words and time and dance merged together into one single wave of joy, one night's wealth and happiness, and the feverish rushing of many minds towards oblivion and ecstasy, I realize that such a night must be lived in its own atmosphere.
> (Rasmussen: Amongst the Copper, 1932:130)

INTRODUCTION.

The above quotes (circa 1921) remind the reader that expressive forms, and particularly those like dance, which plunge beneath the surface of words, are very difficult to capture in language. Although Rasmussen experiences the drum dance and succumbs to its force, he confesses that he cannot describe it, for "you had to be there," he explains. The ethnomusicologist T. Johnston (1976) also experienced how feelings and emotions were generated in drum dance event, yet he chose to explain these as changes related to physiological processes.

Specifically, he examined how certain instrumental conditions promoted exhaustive states, the neurophysiological changes producing experiences associated with altered states of consciousness.*

In this study I have elected to consider the experience of dance in terms of a performance process. Obviously, I am not the first to do so, but I argue that my approach to performance presents a unifying and systematic frame of analysis since it approaches the performance context in terms of its own structure. In order to explain my position further, a frame of reference is supplied.

A. A FRAME OF REFERENCE

Dance anthropologists, in their concern for analyzing the inherent cultural components of the dance have sometimes failed to highlight the significance of the movement structure itself. Their descriptions of the dance have often been limited since the structural units and combinations are not always taken into full account. On the other hand, movement specialists concerned with description and comparisons have frequently isolated dance from its socio-cultural context, and limited their studies to tabulations of basic units, movement combinations and repetitive motifs. Moreover, since some movement specialists have assumed that all dance is based on universal principles, they have overlooked or distorted the characteristic differences that define distinctive dance forms. In brief, the common fault in studies that do not employ anthropological methods is their tendency to impose inappropriate categories by applying Western concepts to elucidate non-Western dance forms.

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*The instrumental conditions are listed as overcrowding, overheating, and loud drumming over a prolonged period of time. The biological changes contributing to psychological effects or changes in the ECG pattern are listed as increased adrenalin flow, lowered blood glucose, and sometimes by hyperventilation.

Happily, as studies indicate, these errors and oversights are being corrected. Dance specialists interested in analyzing the inherent properties of movement are beginning to incorporate the perceptions of the members of a particular society into their analyses. Conversely, dance anthropologists, who hitherto identified the significance of movement with its contextual basis, are now expanding their range of concerns to include a grammatical analyses of the dance structure into their conceptual framework. Clearly, scholarship has evolved to the degree that it can regard dance as a system of self-contained rules, can view culture as equivalent to behaviour, and can discover the key links of compatibility that exist between these diverse domains.

In the past, part of the malaise in dance study originated in the tendency to approach the two domains of dance and non-dance from different, if not incompatible, perspectives. Because the anthropological focus assumes that dance is a part of culture, the reason for analyzing the dance form has been to slot it into the socio-cultural context. However, although this approach has explained the various ways in which dance and culture are integrated in a relationship of interdependence, it does not demonstrate how both dance and culture interface to produce a uniquely structured socio-cultural matrix manifested by human agents; the variation derived not only from historical and environmental conditions, but also upon a process of production. Thus it is argued that the focus of inquiry be expanded into the performance area, the performance viewed as a structured and fluid form in and through which dance becomes culture and culture becomes dance. Indeed, it is the inclusion of a performance dimension that enables us to address Merriams's (1972:10) concern that the applied method seeks to "probe dance analytically in order to understand to the best of our abilities how and why it is what it is." Thus, the key question to be asked is how does the performance context constitute a precise relationship to both the dance and the cultural domain?

In addressing this question, a performance ethnography model derived from ethnoscience already exists. Specifically, in R. Qureshi's study (1986 Sound, Context and Meaning), behaviour is viewed as being formed both at the level of shared norms and at a dynamic level which articulates behaviour *as it is happening*. In other words, the model demonstrates the manner in which the ideal is shaped by the actual and the actual is made coherent by the ideal. Accordingly, it is made evident how a synthesis occurs between dance and culture.

However, before adopting this model a variety of theoretical perspectives and tools are necessary. Indeed, because the validity of any model rests in part on what has been tried and disregarded by one's own predecessors, it is necessary to relate how my thinking has been informed by three sources: namely, Western dance theory, dance ethnology,* and ethnomusicology.

Western Dance Theory

The purpose of Western dance theory is to describe and analyze the grammatical structure of movement. The aim is laudable. However, at present, the methods of analysis remain rudimentary. Therefore, it is imperative that we recognize these theoretical limitations and clarify the theoretical challenge. We must begin by stressing that any human movement is exceedingly complex, and its documentation is inherently difficult because it must deal not only with the readily identifiable aspects of space and time, but also with that which exists above and beneath its measurable surface. Theoretically, these elusive elements are related to the meanings and intentions of movement. Practically, they appear as different kinds of energy expenditure, commonly referred to as stylistic variations, movement idiosyncracies or kinetic variables. In more conventional terms, dance specialists frequently seek to relate how the movement is enacted by identifying specific qualitative aspects, the use of energy frequently referred to as the dynamic component, effort qualities or perceptual features.

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*The term is broadly used here. It refers not only to dance anthropologists who perceive dance as a product of human behaviour, but also scholarly studies that tend to view dance as a closed system; the dance limited or separated from its socio-cultural context.

While numerous systems of recording movement have been devised* and the Benesh system ** frames the functions of the body in time and space, Laban's *** approach is the most comprehensive since it seeks to analyze the total movement complex. Accordingly, the full description yields records of both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of movement.

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*See Royce (1977:38-63) for a historical overview of methods and techniques. Youngerman (1984:102) and Adshead (1988:17) cite theorists Benesh, Eshkol, and Laban for developing systems of analysis and methods of recording that are universally claimed.

**A good source is Rudolf and Joan Benesh (1977), Reading Dance: The Birth of Choreology.

***R. Laban (1879-1958) along with his colleagues developed a "system that focuses on the process of movement itself as related to its goals" (I. Bartenieff 1989:viii). His initial writings appear in the 1920s.

However, in both Western analytical frameworks an insufficiency is evident since Western tools of analysis are obviously best suited for describing the gross movement features typical of Western dance forms. In other words, Western methods certainly can record the space-time continuum, but the weight-time continuum characteristic of non-Western dance forms is extremely difficult since the conceptual frame of analysis dealing with nuances of energy use is still being worked out.

In general, the advantage of Laban's theory is its comprehensiveness. Labanalysis is, at once, a method of describing, classifying and notating movement. The advantage of the latter is that it enables the movement structure to be simultaneously perceived, rather than perceiving the various distinct units in a linear progression. In addition, notation makes possible a more precise definition of these units and a more exact quantification of their significant aspects.

Although it is recognized that Laban's notational system is "not universally accepted as a pragmatic answer for recording dance,"* in the quest for recognizing dance as a serious discipline the inherent meaning within the movement structure itself must be addressed. Accordingly, Laban's theoretical framework enables the structural properties of movement to be described and analyzed from several different levels of understanding.

Critical to Laban's theory is his view that movement represents a particular confluence of component parts. This notion, analogous to the leading ideas in the social sciences, identifies movement as a behavioral process. Moreover, Laban's multilateral approach to description integrates objective observations with experientially perceived descriptions. Thus Laban's theory encourages verification through the establishment of a culturally relevant ideology (Youngerman 1984). In addition, Laban's basic perception is that theoretical mastery of movement can only be achieved through continuing exploration. His work, therefore, does not establish a fixed methodology, but rather challenges individuals to find different meanings in their own chosen field of research and at their own level of expertise.

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*J. Kealiinohomoku 1972:389.

B. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Dance Ethnology

My concern here is not to present a chronological survey or a detailed analysis of the writings of dance scholars, but rather to point out that part of the problem in dance study is the lack of a unified orientation towards theory that enables a concrete methodology to unfold. This is not necessarily surprising since dance ethnology is a relatively new field which may be thought to have its beginnings with Gertrude Kurath's belief that data inquiry should not only deal with the form of the dance, but also extend into the socio-cultural coantext. Specifically, she called for an approach that elicited, "the place of dance in human life - in a word, a branch of anthropology" (1960:250). However, despite the countless efforts by some researchers to provide an anthropological perspective that merged and made compatible these two diverse domains, the results have been less than adequate. As a result, in recent years a broad approach in dance ethnology has been advocated. Specifically, the parameters of the social context are often limited. Accordingly, dance ethnology might be described as a discipline in search of a methodology.

On the other hand, the theoretical stance and contributions of dance anthropologists, such as Kealiinohomoku, Williams, Hanna, and Sweet, has been firmly posited.* As stated earlier, the dance may be studied as suis generis, but the critical question of what generates the dance can only be answered by adopting an anthropological perspective.

The obvious starting point for dance anthropologists was the need to define a concept of dance that could be applied cross-culturally as well as provide a useful tool for analysts. Although Kealiinohomoku was the first to propose a relative definition of dance (1965, 1970, and later revised in 1972),** Hanna (1979) and Williams (1973) also developed well-known working definitions.*** Fundamental to all these definitions is the assertion that dance is a mode of human behaviour. Kealiinohomoku (1976:58-63) suggests further that dance is not the medium, but rather needs media since it is manifested as play and ritual, and is also a human requirement for achieving homeostatis. Hanna(1979) augments this notion by identifying dance as a "web of human existence" in which behaviour reveals its physical, cultural, social, pyschological, economic, political, and communicative aspects.

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*Dance anthropologists are referred to by Kurath as ethnochoreologists (Kealiinohomoku 1976:8).

**See Kealiinohomoku (1976:12).

***For a discussion of dance definitions see Hanna (1979:17-24). Also Royce (1977:5-16).

What is assumed in both these approaches is that dance is a system of culturally determined rules whose meaning is contained in its function; an ultimately crucial function to society since it serves biological, psychological and sociological needs. Accordingly, the movement system is to be analyzed on the basis of this functional understanding. However, the major problem in implementing this approach is the difficulty of distinguishing, on the one hand, between the culture's and the analyst's categories, and on the other, between conceptual and behavioral levels of analysis.

The theorem that dance is a cultural imperative or universal phenomenon encouraged the recognition that dance was like any other feature of culture (such as kinship, religion, political and economic institutions), and that the study of dance could illuminate the socio-cultural context. Not surprisingly, this belief sharpened interest in approaching dance from the perspective of cultural change. Scholars began looking at dance as a social phenomenon shaped by different kinds of contextual information. Kaeppler's (1967) analysis of the change in form and function of Tongan dance and Kealiinohomoku's (1979) comparative study of Balinese and Hawaiian dance, provide excellent examples of how dance is affected by major cultural changes.* Again, however, the purpose of analyzing dance is to stress how it is intimately linked to its socio-cultural context.

In addition to these approaches, dance is identified as a phenomenon itself. Advocates of this position suggest that although dance may perform an important functional role, it is unlike other cultural traits because it does so in a distinctive manner. This stress on the unique qualities of the dance encouraged a discussion of dance as affective culture, as symbolic behavior, and as events which provide "super-ordinary" experiences.** Ultimately, however, because dance is inseparable from culture, the approach again returns the dance domain to its contextual structure. In other words, an increased understanding of the complex properties of dance serves the purpose of encouraging a better understanding of how dance plays a significant role in culture.

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[*] For a summary of these studies see Royce (1977:101-105).

[**] Kealiinohomoku's writings stress that superordinary experiences as well as ordinary experiences are necessary requisites for being human. Superordinary experiences highlight and punctuate ongoing experiences. In short, they make up affective culture.

A unique perspective in investigating the complex relationship between dance and culture is Lomax's pioneering study that attempts to find functional correspondences between dance and everyday work styles, and to compare these cross-culturally. In his decision to record only gross movement patterns, he enlisted the assistance of dance specialists Bartenieff and Paulay. Accordingly, in their attempt to provide an effective analysis, they recorded a new way of observing in the Effort-Shape system of analysis.* However, despite the given expertise in the movement domain, the proficiency required for analyzing relations in the social context, (of demonstrating correspondences between dance and work styles) remained to be demonstrated. Moreover, although Lomax's study is flawed in terms of its generality of variabilities, the major flaw is that dance is viewed as a product, or a stimulus-response rather than as an outcome of particular, dynamic, social, and cognitive processes.** In short, he is unable to fuse the domains of dance and culture into an appropriate and compatible relationship.

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*In order to view the subtle qualities of only gross movement patterns, spatial tensions derived from transitions, paths and the use of the body, as a whole or segmented unit, were recorded.

**See critical reviews of Lomax's study by Kealiinohomoku (1968) and Williams (1968). Also, see Blacking (1968:xviii).

The theorem that dance is cognitive behavior provides yet another link for incorporating the domain of dance with its context. The socio-linguistic approach adopted by Hanna seeks to explain that meaning is contained within a communication system. In her schematically presented model, effective communication is described as a feedback system where participants encode and decode messages. Categories of meaning are also probed by a semantic grid that outlines categories of conceptualization for the receiver. In brief, her interest in semiotics exemplifies a theoretical position that argues for the existence of an intellectual dimension of dance that fails to demonstrate how dance and culture are inextricably bound up in a mutually affecting relationship.

Investigation that incorporates both cognitive and behavioral analysis also enabled dance to be viewed as a representational linguistic system. Assuming that dance was a meta-language, both Kaeppler (1972) and Williams (1978) sought to prove how movement was invented in accordance with laws of designation and combination.*

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*The linguistic analogy is that just as language has its words, sentences and paragraphs, and dance has its movement vocabulary, steps and phrases, the meaning is specified by the manner of combining. In other words, the structure of dance is perceived as a generative grammar based on set rules.

Of these two structuralist approaches, Kaeppler's analysis of Tongan dance is the most suitable for developing the potential of linguistic application. Specifically, in her search for syntactic structure she seeks to discover an emic relationship between significant units of movement and verbal song text. Accordingly, she reduces the imposition of the investigator's arbitrary categories by proposing to use "emic" or "native" categories. Her methodology entails a folk taxonomy gained by verbal elicitation and at the same time the behavioral domain is dealt with by performing the movement in order to verify what is significant in terms of the smallest units of movements (kinemes), and how these units are put together in terms of sequences and distributions. Specifically, correspondences are sought between two levels of analysis as well as context-derived data that may be operative at the level of movement organization in performance.

The structural-linguistic approach adopted by Williams also assumes that the dancer's movements are logical; the body articulating movement in accordance with obeying an empirically perceived structure.* In Deep Structures (1978:213) she relates that "whatever its surface characteristics a dance has limitations, 'rules' within which it exists and which govern any of its idiomatic or stylistic expressions." However, unlike Kaeppler's approach she devises her own mathematical formula for analyzing structure. Focusing on the units of movement and the mapping of these movements she developed a tremendously complex etic analysis of the dance structure. However, this theoretical model, along with other linguistic approaches in other fields, has resulted in limited success in non-Western application since the significance of indigenous processes has been overlooked.

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*Williams refers to this as semasiology.

On the other hand, as evidenced by Kaeppler's work, linguistic models used in the hands of practicing researchers can contribute positively to the field. Specifically, linguistic models concerned with clarifying indigenous processes has expanded models of discovery by employing alternate strategies to elicit cultural information and encouraging an approach of increased participation.

In short, language models may be viewed as promising in the sense that they consider performance in general. However, unlike the approach of viewing text and context as integrated,* the linguistic approach in its concerns for discovering semantic content tends to treat the socio-cultural context as a modifier or antecedent. In other words, the application of a conceptual domain of movement generally results in an inadequate or superficial analogy of context.

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*The concept that the performance context is analogous to culture is adopted by Kealiinohomoku, Hanna, Snyder, and Sweet.

In recent years, considerable interest has been expressed in approaching the performance area in terms of a structural manifestation of culture. To date, however, the theoretical stance has not yet developed into a concrete methodology, particularly one that includes a grammatical analysis of movement. The advantage of looking to the field of ethnomusicology for a program of action is not only that we share problematic issues, but that they have more or less successfully identified the performance context.

The shared questions of concern are: how is the idiom (of movement) analyzed? How does the idiom articulate with culture? How is it possible to produce meaning outside of the two domains of dance and culture? What are the important normative structures of the idiom and the cultural context that construct the process of production? Today ethnomusicologists are probing the performance context still further by asking such questions as what are the structural concepts that enable variability in performance? What are the individual style differences that affect performance?

Ethnomusicology

A focus on the following monographs in ethnomusicology serves to (1) identify the components that represent the performance complex, and (2) to describe how these contextual structures required synthesis in order to be enacted or operationalized as performance structure. Since these works are the predecessors of R. Qureshi's analytical model, which I am adapting here, their theoretical stances and methodological procedures must be considered.

Frisbie's (1980) discussion of Navajo ceremonial performance attempts to portray the decision-making processes involved in constructing such events. In her effort to present all that is relevant to performance, she offers a progression-of-events model. Information entails basic procedures of rationale, planning, preliminary preparations, and descriptions of actual performances. From beginning to end, an emic perspective or collaborative assessment by natives and ethnographer characterizes the approach. However, a theoretical bias towards particularism and an inductive method prevents the emergence of any formalized analyses of cultural context. An analysis of the performance idiom, music, is not attempted.

A. Seeger's (1979:376) Suya Indian study argues that performance of music "is more than making structured sound." What is "more-than" the performance idiom is the significance of the entire organizational structure of society. The traditional interrogative approach of employing the journalistic who, what, when and where is applied to the cultural context. In an attempt to interface music and culture, the performance is interpreted as a mirror or meeting place where meaning from both sides, music and culture, is reflected. Notions of the use of space, seniority status, and sex- roles are isolated to provide the general universal principles that enable the society's structure to be equated with the musical structure. Meaning is therefore linked to manifesting a duality or to identify function, that renders meaning in terms of a familiar ordering of events.

In her study of tune texts in Chinese opera, Rulan Chao (1987) approaches performance as a series of participant strategies. Her analysis begins with the music structure but does not proceed to a micro-analysis of its properties/elements, since her hypothesis is that the performance idiom varies in accordance with the performance context. By asking what varies with the basic units of time, the dramatic function of arias, and the role variants, she establishes the appropriate norms of the idiom. Identity is therefore not linked to reflecting a familiar societal order where meaning corresponds to the terms of the social organization (such as roles and status), but rather includes the emotions associated with the aria's functions. Also she provides a residual category where meaning is linked to moods of dramatic tension. In brief, the performance event in Chao's model constitutes an interplay of participant strategies whereby the idiom incorporates contextual inputs and constraints during performance. Variations allowing for individual choices within a firmly defined context is therefore illustrated.

Lortat-Jacob (1984) examines the interdependence of performance and audience by comparing how cultural identity is linked to a level of social organization: the degree of "organic interaction" distinctly different in small-scale and complex societies. Performance is shown to be affected by clear correspondences between the ethnic and mainstream elements of society, between the old and the young, and between urban and rural sectors: the fluctuations producing changes in music expression. In general, this study contends that complex societies which represent a high level of stratification, segmentation and specialization, experience a loss of ownership to their music. Moreover, the treatment of music as public property is attributed to being a direct result of professionalism, supported by the socio-economic sphere. Thus professionalism is perceived as a major factor in causing a lack of identity within the societal structure.

In summary, the study represents a traditional approach since the cultural aspect is considered primary and the musical context is ignored. Predictably, the significance of music is related to its ability to reflect society.

Steven Feld's (1984) inquiry into performance communications focuses upon the nature of engagement from the listener's point of view. His model does not analyze music because it interprets performance as an ideational structure or empty vehicle; the audience/receiver is perceived as carrying the real meaning. Because of this belief, his analysis focuses upon a number of conceptual perceptions or interpretative moves which map the participant/receiver's responses in terms of perceptions. These perceptions are described as locational, categorical (generic), associative (imagistic), reflective (personal and evaluatory). The model seeks to interpret increased engagement as a mode of feedback which orientates the audience back towards the music.

Furthermore, the performance model interprets constants or ideational structures as well as recognizing a range of variable perceptions in performance. However, variability in the music's own structure (such as modification and sequencing) is not recognized. Meaning again is thought to reside in the idiom's ability to reflect the cultural context or social-physiological identity. The music's meaning is again limited to a re-iterated form and the received message is recognized as a preserved message. The code-context relationship describes a low-level of specificity where the higher the level of repetition, the lower the interest in sound, and conversely, the lower the level of repetition, the less contextual interest and the higher the interest in musical structure.

Blacking's (1979) theoretical model is a performance model of communication in which the aim of analysis is to examine how music reveals a mode of behavior that is distinct from social, political, economic or religious behavior. The concern is with a conceptual model that identifies the parts, and makes the synthesis of these parts in total performance. The communication involves social circumstances within a particular setting where participants make music while receivers respond by making sense of it. Thus the music context is identified as representing two dimensions: the music itself, a system of self-contained rules, and a system where "people choose to invent and invoke systems of action that set limits to their freedom of choice" (Blacking 1979:3).

Within the communication model, meaning is thought not to reside in an object or person, but to be a reciprocal process encompassing the way music is created, used, and comprehended. Musical behavior, therefore, not only reflects social use (function), but also imposes or directly influences action. This conceptual shift broadens analysis to include not only the people who make music and the context in which they perform, but also how they make it, and how they ascribe meaning to what they make. The model proposes a two-step procedure; an examination of multiple performances, and multiple perceptions of the same performance. Implicit in the one inquiry, therefore, is the expansion of the traditional concern to focus on unifying culture specific principles to include a perspective of variability. In brief, a focus upon questions of behavioral difference enables the diverse domains of musical and non-musical behavior to be seen as compatible and comprehensive within a single analytical framework.

In Asch's (1982) study of Slavey drum dance, musical behavior is again shown to be part of a wider socio-cultural setting. Through a process of rule discovery, rules of context are found to impose only limited distinctions or features on musical structure. Clearly, the low specificity indicates that what makes music meaningful is more than simply analyzing social-behavioral equivalents.

For a performance ethnography which incorporates the above findings into a concrete analytical framework and stresses interaction, we return to Qureshi's model. Her model assumes that behavior is (1) observable (testable and repeatable), (2) informed by concepts, (3) based on culture specific principles, and (4) realized in the performance event. These assumptions direct inquiry towards an analysis of the structures of music and cultural context, and an assessment of the way in which these structures are operationalized to provide meaning outside of themselves.

Inquiry is also directed from a third position of synthesis since the process is perceived not only from a unifying stance of culture specific principles and variability, but from the perspective of an individual engaged in a decision-making process. In Qureshi's study of Sufi music, analysis is considered from the performer's vantage point, as opposed to the audience or general participants. Although previous models have recognized that performance is an interaction between two kinds of participants, the performer(s) and spectators, or people who utter and people who respond, Qureshi's model breaks new ground since she not only views the performer as operationalizing music and the audience as operationalizing context, but most significantly contends that it is the performer who generates and guides the performance. In short, her analysis is from the vantage point of the performer.

C. THE PROPOSED ANALYTICAL MODEL

Specifically, the program for action is set forth in three parts. The first step is to analyze the data that represents the subject matter, in this instance, dance. The aim of identifying the basic elements and the sequence of these elements enables the description of a grammatical structure. The second step investigates the society in order to identify the socio-cultural structure. Thus the relevant concepts associated with social ideology and the structure of social organization are taken into account. Finally, analysis of the total performance context demonstrates how these two diverse contextual domains interrelate to produce the new meaning which is articulated through performance.

The importance of Qureshi's model is that the idiom has been successfully incorporated into a single analytical framework; the rules of movement no longer set forth in the abstract but explained as a part of the process of production, that is, performance. Previously, a focus upon the idiom was generally reserved only for those who study the tradition of (art) form. However, because the analysis of the idiom cannot explain what generates the process of production (i.e., dancing) the contextual dimension is incorporated into the model. The variability in performance rests upon how this normative structure (of movement and culture) is operationalized by the performer in a decision-making process. How these conceptual norms are shaped by the actual event enables analysis to focus on the differences between the prescribed, ideal norms and those described as the actual or real. Thus performance event is viewed as an articulation of individuals attending to differences or culling further possibilities from what is prescribed. In brief, the analytical model explains how the idiom is context-sensitive.

What remains to be done is to demonstrate that the systematic frame of analysis can be successfully applied to Inuit drum dance. In order to proceed in this direction two key questions must be answered. What means do we have to analyze the dance movement, and what are the structures of cultural context that inform the dance? Admittedly, procedures are still being negotiated, yet despite any considerations, the data to be counted in performance analysis rests upon two problem issues which must be resolved. Inherent in addressing these issues is the concern for valid criteria. Thus, procedures are clarified still further by asking the rudimentary questions of analytical process. What are the tasks and the appropriate tools?

The Task

The first issue is a comparative cross-cultural problem. Specifically, the analyst is confronted not only with a culture that is vastly different, but a dance form that is non-Western. Because a culture's own concepts about dance best determine the framework of analysis, the Western analyst's mode of inquiry is inevitably from without. The available tools of inquiry are tools of terminology and conceptions inherited from a Western methodological framework. Even if one sets aside the theoretical debates as to the value of Western parameters that assume universal principles, these tools are at best the equivalent of an etic transcription of movement.*

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*An etic transcription is implied since a phonetic alphabet enables a phonetic description of language.

The second issue relates to confronting the dual nature of dance. Because dance is inextricably bound up with culture, the concern is how to relate the context of culture to the structure of dance. Specifically, the issue is to obtain an overall perspective from which the two disparate domains of movement and culture may be compatibly framed.

The Tools

In dealing with the first dimension of movement analysis, the focus is upon observable criteria. A problem of transcription is implied since the concern is how to record and analyze the formal elements of Inuit drum dance into its appropriate parts for purposes of discovering its basic structure. In this respect, I am adopting a system of Labanalysis that provides both a means of describing and classifying, as well as notating movement.

I have selected this particular transcription tool not only because it provides a conventional method of analyzing movement that is commonly taught in North American schools, but also because it is the only system that attempts to record the important feature of energy use or effort.* Since this latter aspect of dynamics is a crucial aspect of Inuit drum dance, dynamic symbols in the Laban framework provide a way to document this elusive element.

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*A history of Laban's theory of dynamics is provided by V. Maletic (1957:105-112). Other standard sources include C. Dell (1970), M. North (1972), A. Hutchinson (1954), V. P. Dunlop (1963).

Specifically, in order to provide a general outline of the drum dancer's use of energy related to step pattern, I have used a recent method of classification and notation of different types of phrasing.* Also, a simplified notation to record a broad statement about the movement in terms of its action, called Motif Writing, is employed.** Furthermore, I apply a structural notation (i.e., Labanotation) that identifies the direction, level, and use of the body parts; the more precise details of individual style recorded. Together the transcriptions provide the performer's descriptive profiles in terms of three levels of understanding.

The second issue, finding an analytical perspective that coherently frames the relationships between dance and culture, has been problematic in dance ethnology studies (related to context) since their inception. Because it is fundamentally assumed that dance is part of culture and therefore linked to its socio-cultural context, I will use elicitation and observation techniques derived from anthropological theory and methods.

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*Proponents of Laban's theory at Ohio State have developed this system. See articles by V. Maletic and O. Blum.

**Developed by Valerie Preston-Dunlop, it is a "derivative of Labanotation ... used to abstract the general patterns of a movement sequence" (Youngerman 1984:107).

In general, analysis of the cultural context treats a more general or abstract array of concerns than does analysis of the self-contained rules defining dance structure. Behavior related to the larger tradition is viewed generally in terms of ideology and core values. In addition, culture-specific knowledge about dance (such as rationale, its occurrences, roles and status) - is necessary for interpreting the specific behavioral domain of the dance.

Finally, in order to address the central issue of performance, the obvious tool for testing the communication process is to focus upon the concrete and crucial evidence of what actually happens in performance. Here the spotlight must fall on the performer-dancer, since rules set out in the abstract can only be manifested when theory is practiced. Specifically, in following the performer through his or her performance, specific points of reference falling between what is prescribed and what can be described are charted. A measurement of these dynamic links is analogous to recording an individual's descriptive profile. In brief, the analytical tool of descriptive profiles simultaneously serves to verify norms by identifying the prescribed ideals and ascertain the variability of the real by clarifying distinctive features. Moreover, analysis of the performance process is enhanced by asking indigenous performers what they think they must do to operationalize performance. Thus, descriptive profiles are augmented with reflective self-statements.

Having acknowledged the necessary theoretical guidelines and identified the appropriate tasks and tools, the following Tables (1 and 2) outline my specific procedures for analyzing Inuit drum dance.

Table 1. A DETAILED APPROACH FOR ANALYZING INUIT DRUM DANCE

Step 1: ESTABLISH THE MOVEMENT NORMS

Assumption: Movement has a relational meaning of self-contained rules

Theory: Drum dance movement has parameters

Task: Identify the conventional movement code; the basic units and combinations
- obtain the phonetic description from Western movement theory

Tools:
- utilize the special needs of Labanalysis
- employ familiar participant-observation techniques and
- elicit indigenous self-statements relevant to dance-making

Step 2: ESTABLISH THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Assumption: Movement has a referential meaning derived from culturally based rules

Theory: Cultural concepts inform the dance

Task: Identify the relevant dimensions of cultural context:
- isolate the implicit concepts of the larger cultural tradition; belief system, ideology, socio-economic conditions,* rationale
- isolate the explicit norms of setting and procedure: time, place, personnel procedures

Tools:
- analyze at the general level of key concepts
- observation and eliciting techniques

THE
NORMATIVE STRUCTURE
OF
PERFORMANCE CONTEXT

↓

THE DYNAMIC STRUCTURE
OF
PERFORMANCE PROCESS

Step 3: ANALYSIS OF ACTUAL PERFORMANCE EVENT

Assumption: The drum dance is context-sensitive
(the performance represents a reciprocal communication process)

Theory: Variability is dependent upon a code-context relationship

Task: Identifying the dynamic links of contextual input, synonymous with the performer's decision-making process

Tools: A computation of individual styles, the descriptive profiles serving to verify norms and record variability by describing the differences between the ideal and real.

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* the division of labour and network of interpersonal relations

Table 2. A CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR STUDYING DANCE IN CULTURE*

The theoretical Stance	Dimensions to be analyzed		
The unifying perspective	1. Analyze the movement structure	THE PRESCRIBED CONVENTIONAL STRUCTURE = OCCASION	2. Analyze the socio-cultural structure
1. Culture specific principles	What is the movement code, the distinctive feature identifying Inuit drum dance	"THE IDEAL NORMS"	What is the socio-cultural context? What are the general concepts of social structure? the social organizational factors influencing setting and procedures, the time, place and personnel in terms of participant number, status, sex?
	The self-contained rules of grammatical logic = a relational meaning	A PREREQUISITE LOGIC = a knowledge of content	The socio-cultural logic = a Referential Meaning
2. Factors of Variability	3. Analyze the Performance Process a. What is the performance context identifying a particular drum dance event; the settings and procedures? b. What is the interaction process charted by descriptive profiles that identify the conceptual inputs; the variability between the Prescribed (Ideal) and Described (Real) factors? c. What are the indigenous self-statements relevant to dance-making?		
3. The Vantage Point of Performer? of Audience? of Participants?		THE DESCRIBED DYNAMIC STRUCTURE = EVENT NORMS ACTUALIZED i.e. Real A PERFORMANCE LOGIC	
	The meaning derived from a decision-making process. The variability in DANCE MAKING = a Code-Context Relationship		

THE PERSPECTIVE OF DANCE EVENT AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS =
THE CONTENT ENLIGHTENED WITH MEANING

*Adapting the ethnomusicologist model by Qureshi (1986:11)

PART I THE THEORETICAL APPROACH AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCEDURES

CHAPTER II THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCEDURES

A. DISCOVERING AND DOCUMENTING THE DATA

Obviously, there are difficulties in discovering what people know. In studying Inuit drum dance, I have been confronted not only with a radically different culture, but also with a non-Western dance form. Obviously, a culture's own conception best determines the analytical framework. Moreover, the roots of these concepts can normally be found in the realm of tradition. However, in Inuit society tradition is not conceptualized in formal theory nor in a self-conscious awareness articulated in analytical speech. Thus, training is not transmitted through direct teaching or hereditary institutions. It is not even guaranteed to take place at specific times and places.

Despite these difficulties in discovering conceptual categories, it is still possible to understand a people's values by observing their actions; i.e., we may interpret meaning when the behavior is designated by the people themselves as purposeful or appropriate. Thus, my understanding of Inuit drum dance begins with my attempt to get an emic sense of the dance idiom. The inquiry was guided by the question: what are the incentives, the restraints, or satisfactions that may be elicited through the underlying strategies of asking, observing, and participating?

Because historical exchanges between Inuit and White have not always been equal, it is obviously of special importance that the collected data be mutually accepted, respected, and acted upon. A question of trust arises. Indeed, the question, is it legitimate for an outsider to record a dance that is so integrally a part of a community's experience? might be asked. Issues of power and vulnerability and ethical responsibility -- issues vital to any field work situation -- are especially important in establishing significant relations with the Inuit.

The question, "What do I have to offer the Inuit?" is not rhetorical. I was asked it in a radio interview at Rankin Inlet, and felt its relevance and poignancy, since today all areas of Inuit life are continually being investigated by Southern researchers. The Inuit broadcaster justifiably wondered if and how the exchange would be equal.

From the outset, I recognized that by myself I can do nothing without collaboration; that my ability to analyze movement and my interest in examining drum dance as a vehicle of traditional culture, would be barren without Inuit cooperation. I, therefore, coupled research strategies with a perpetual examination of my motives in order to enhance communication. Specifically, the familiar field work strategies of participant observation and informal interviews became an integral part of my research and an equally integral part of an on-going self-critical examination.

My field work experiences among the Inuit can be described as ongoing, unorganized, confusing and rewarding. The difficulty in employing an interpretive ethnographic methodology is that it constrains one to focus simultaneously on two different levels of ordering, the informant's cultural concepts and the analyst's own set of categories. I therefore wish to make clear, that in the final processing of my field work, every effort has been made to apply the appropriate categories, and thereby keep separate the emic and etic lens.

The traditional Inuit attitude of reciprocity and their social custom of visiting, offered me numerous opportunities for social contact. Still, research strategies demand that potential opportunities for learning about dance and non-dance behavior be guided by specific procedures. Since the field methodology in the present case relates two very different kinds of knowledge; i.e., dance and non-dance, the gathering and testing of the data required an especially scrupulous attention to documentation and verification procedure. My own experiences and ethnographic orientation also had to be considered.

Collecting the Data

A personal knowledge of drum dancing demands both direct observation and direct imitation of a master dancer. My approach, therefore, involved eliciting information and attempting to familiarize my body with the working technique of the dance. My teachers included drum dancers, not only acknowledged in the community, but also singers, television personnel, radio announcers, school children, and especially the community elders, since they serve as the data banks of traditional ways. As this has traditionally been a society of generalists, most of its members could inform at some level. The elders, however, proved to be key informants, and served as master teachers. Using this experiential approach I managed, in time, to make the idea of drum dancing become concrete and real.

My exercises in participant observation generally occurred in the home of key informants. Inherent in these sessions was the difficulty of restraining my inclination to impose a discursive mode of thought analogous to asking too many questions. Gradually, I learned how standard practice is confirmed by a deductive approach that asks questions only when significant points need to be clarified. My compensation for this relaxation of intellectual control was the joy of participation and a somatic sense of the occasion. Indeed, in Inuit drum dance the emphasis upon a repetitive co-ordinated skill activity meant that the joy of doing was repeatedly manifested and sustained within a limited repertoire of movement.

After I acquired competence, I occasionally demonstrated what I thought might be an incorrect way of moving. Corrections were never made with do's and don'ts, but rather by the patient practice of the master teacher repeatedly replaying the movement.* In general, my progress was assessed in relation to the fidelity of my imitation of the teacher. Sometimes the instant playback technique occurred in slow motion, but always in an unassuming manner. An increase of skill level was signalled when the movement playback was no longer slowed and the taking of turns no longer demanded imitation. Indeed, it was in discovering for myself, and in appreciating nuances of individual style that success in learning was ultimately signalled. For myself, the learning process made manifest how qualities of quiet confidence and self-respect are won and shared in Inuit society. This invisible quality constitutes a part of what is entailed in becoming Inummariit, the real Inuit.

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*The technique of demonstrating incorrect ways of moving was a major point of Kaeppler's approach, explicated in her dissertation.

My strategy for gaining knowledges of the Inuit social context involved a process of increased interaction with the people and participating in activities, such as going on the land, teaching or helping in the school, and living amongst Inuit both in their community and in their homes. Although I initially set out to learn about Inuit drum dance at appointed times and places, and to understand the routine of Inuit daily life, it often happened that an interview revealed more about the culture than the dance, and conversely, the process of daily interaction often provided insight into drum dancing. As language, dance, and other activities continued to interweave their experience upon me, the impact of field work was felt.

The Documentary Procedures

Video tape recordings were also used as an aid in studying the dance. Such documentation offered me the advantage of multiple opportunities to teach and interpret the performance event.* Using video as a documentary method provided three other distinct advantages: the ability to (1) synchronize the movement, image, and sound, (2) continuously record extended sequences, and (3) use the camera's mobility. On the other hand, the camera's obvious disadvantages are (1) its obtrusive nature, (2) its two-dimensional perspective that eliminates the effect of three-dimensional space, and (3) reduction of the kinesthetic element since the dynamics become muted on video film; the movement action no longer clearly defined by movement qualities.

Two essential components to be filmed in drum dance performance entail (1) the dancer making the dance, that is, the entirety of body part actions, the influence of the dress upon the motion, the action of the drum, and (2) the dynamic interchange that occurs between the dancer and the audience.** However, in Inuit drum dance, the recording of the event is visually complicated since singers who also act as key performers are situated

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[*] See the article, "Event, Feedback and Analysis" by R. Stone and V. Stone (1981).

[**] See Qureshi's article "Performance and Its Documentation," (1987).

on the circumference, apart from the dancer's central spot. As a result, my ability to record the relations among the dancer, singers, and assembled members was limited to what could be recorded rather than what should have been. Fortunately, in my attempt to document these crucial interactions, I was enormously aided by the services of IBC (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation).

Documentary advantages accrued in several ways. Since today many drum dance performances are not held in the home, but are performed in the community hall, a television crew member is in attendance. Furthermore, since the explicit purpose of the IBC is to air video within the community, the documentation tends to reflect indigenous interests and interpretations. For example, since these tapes frequently focus on the audience activity as well as on the dancer's solo role, the recordings appear to reflect an almost unconscious orientation toward the event being truly shared; the traditional values of reciprocity maintained. As the Igloolik video-operator Zak Kunuk (1986) commented, "people want to see the audience as well as the drum dancing."

Obviously, there is a great advantage in working with an Inuit camera man. His indigenous acceptance enables him to move fluidly within the event and with an unerring sense of the culturally appropriate perspective. Thus the ideal of filming the performance context with a minimal disturbance was achieved.

When video-taping drum dance event within the private dwelling of the home, I operated alone, using a compact portable video-recorder. In the crowded space I was able to take a wide-angle shot, incorporating the performer and the audience within the same frame. However, the intrusive presence of the camera was more difficult to conceal in this setting. At times, even though participants generally accepted the presence of the camera, in order to encourage feelings of trust and enjoyment, I frequently removed my eye from the camera lens. Thus in choosing to become part of the scene, I also chose to forfeit valuable film footage.

Camera placement represents another difficulty also central to documentation. In the home situation, I chose not to film near the door since the comings and goings of the participants attracted attention to this area. I forfeited this position reluctantly, since although it was farthest away from the singers who sat opposite the door, it also provided the best view of the singer and solo-dancer in co-performance.* Similarly, I rejected the option of recording on the sides of the circumference since because of the crowded conditions of a typically narrow room, the camera would as a result be imposed into the foreground of the dancer's space. Accordingly, abiding by the ethnographer's maxim, to disturb as little as possible the context of the event, I accepted the only other alternative. Specifically, I took up a position in the foot of the circle occupied by the singers. Like other participants who mainly sat on the circumference, I adopted a sitting position resting on my heels. Although this position enabled me to raise to my knees when I had to get a better view, I was often still obstructed by people moving in front of the camera. These considerations and decisions dictated that in order to realize an appropriate analysis of drum dance performance supplementary IBC tapes must be included. These were subsequently purchased (see the Drum Dance Data sheet, Figure 1).

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*See Part IV, p.445 for a drawing of the layout.

The Verification Procedures

Even if one assumes competency in documentary procedures, one's own observations have to be verified. Therefore, from the beginning of my field work I maintained an ongoing dialogue with Inuit participants; consulting with them and using their expertise to help me arrive at appropriate conclusions. Particularly helpful in testing conclusions against the data was the "feedback interview" or dual verification technique, where the participant and researcher construct meaning together by stopping the video for clarification at either the researcher's or the informant's request. This formal procdure presupposes an improved competency in observation skills on the part of the researcher.*

Verification strategies also involved my own interpretative insights. Only in this manner, I found, can the raw material be converted into useful information

The foregoing discussion of investigation procedures provides the basic hardware of analysis. However, any programme of observation and thinking by informants and researcher is fundamentally controlled and interpreted by a researcher whose own assumptions and prejudices, reflecting an historical period, culture and training, must be accounted for. Ultimately, therefore, it is my own perceptual framework which determines the selection of pertinent data, and its interpretation. The following ethnographic orientation, therefore, seeks to inform the reader of my own assumptions and abilities; the personal. data which has influenced this inquiry.

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*See R. Stone and V. Stone (1981).

Personal Orientation

My interest in solo Inuit dance is partly a result of my training in creative/modern dance. In modern dance the vitality of an expressive body is linked to a sense of dwelling in the body. This differs radically from standard ballet where Western concepts of the romantic ideal stress a perfection of the body linked to correct positions and an ethereal lightness or bodilessness. Not unlike the creed of modern dance, traditional Inuit dance emphasizes that every person can express thoughts in movement, and that physical effort of people striving in labors of invention convey a valued aesthetic. Moreover, since doing, or expressing feeling in movement, is significant both in terms of dancing and of making the dance, the dancer and choreographer are often inseparably wed. Shared values in the creative process, therefore, also account for my interest in Inuit dance. Admittedly, personal training as a teacher and as a performer reflects my enthusiasm for any dance form that prizes individual creativity.

The Choice of Dance Form

In this study of Canadian Inuit drum dance I have chosen to focus on the Central Arctic dance form. The movement repertoire is performed by a solo dancer, dancing with a relatively large drum, rather than a Western Arctic repertoire that involves two or more dancers dancing without a drum. The choice reflects my awareness of the inherent difficulties of recording a dance form that is characterized by both a complex idiom of sound and movement and an improvised dance style. Specifically, as stated earlier, I have restricted my study of drum dance to a solo dancer; the dance form representative of the Central Canadian Arctic Inuit.

The difficulty of isolating the dancer's underlying movement structure is surpassed only by the difficulty of analyzing the non-dance structure synonymous with the same cultural context. Studying the dance within a specific locale recognizes that dance is linked to a common genre representative of an extended cultural context and ideology. However, what is significant about uniform context, is how the characteristic features are altered to create a distinctive regional style associated with a regional area.

The Field Data

My actual encounters with drum dance experience began in Igloolik in 1986. As a former dance consultant in Southern Canadian schools, my professional contacts allowed me to initiate this study through the school system. I arranged the opportunity to work alongside a physical education teacher in a week-long dance unit related to drum dancing. This arrangement facilitated my entry into the life of the community, promoting a personal rapport with prime informants, Noah Piuqaatuq and Emile Immaroittuq. The former agreed to my request that he teach drum dance in the school, thereby offering the shared opportunity for Inuit children and myself, a Southern researcher, to learn from an elder rich in traditional knowledge and performance experience.

The benefits of being able to participate in, and to observe the teaching process were offset by the difficulty of apperceiving the dance in an actual performance setting. The total dance context, that is, the essential whole which includes core performers, a standard movement repertoire, and an engaged audience can only be appreciated within the form of a performance event. Yet finding all these facets of drum dance does not require a prolonged stay in the field, since the occurrence of drum dance relies in part on the efficacy of traditional song/dance and the traditional understanding that performance responsibility is not assigned to any one person or to a specific time of the annual cycle. In Igloolik I discovered that drum dancing no longer occurs as part of a community week-long celebration at Easter and Christmas. Indeed, performances today seem to occur only if they are to be filmed or studied (discussed later, see Part IV, Chapter II).

Obviously, my intention to include a historical perspective emphasizes how past drum dance ritual (established before the white man's religion arrived in the region, circa 1920-39) has been radically affected by cultural change. However, by adopting a diachronic view, I seek to clarify that these influences may be either consonant or dissonant.*

In addition, to the Igloolik field work experience, performances at Expo in Vancouver (1986) provided the opportunity to document drum dance event as a form of cultural theatre adapted for Southern performances. Repeated performances by three core performers from Eskimo Point (Donald and Alice Suluk and their daughter Mary Thompson), and from Baker Lake (James Ukpaqoq, Lucy Kownak and Myra Kukilyaut), provided a representative sample of how the sound and movement structure is adapted for Southern audiences.

In 1987 a return visit to Igloolik, as well as a week-long visit to Eskimo Point and Rankin Inlet allowed me to again record personal songs, conduct interviews, and experience the full impact of drum dancing event. Finally, at the home of Annie Sewoee of Eskimo Point, a drum dance performance for the sake of drum dancing, as opposed to for the sake of media event, arose.

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*See J. Kealiinohomoku's (1977) article, "Culture Change: Functional or Dysfunctional Expressions of Dance, A Form of Affective Control."

The expanded focus, allowed by comparative experiences of different occasions, of performers performing in different settings (of stage, community hall, and private dwelling) aided my knowledge of the standard movement structure, and how that structure is shaped by different ethnographic settings. In addition to these personally recorded performances, I also examined seven additional video tapes (see Table 3. Inuit Drum Dance Data: Taped recordings, and Table 4. Key Performers and Interpreters for Interviews).

B. THE ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO PERFORMANCE ETHNOGRAPHY

In general, drum dance analysis requires a full consideration of all the components which make up the performance. However, dance as a manifestation of society treats the dancer as its genesis. It is, therefore, from the concrete points of reference, afforded by individual drum dancers articulating distinctive and shared movement features, with varying degrees of competency and in specific settings, that a complete ethnography of dance-making can be developed.

Specifically, in order to isolate and analyze semantic referents of context, two key informants were singled out for study. A dual focus upon these two performers dancing in different performance settings enabled a representative sample that confirms traditional drum dance structure, as well as describing the distinctive individual profiles that charts styles differently. In brief, a systematic analysis of performance renditions of the same drum dance genre was recorded.

Approaching the study of drum dancing in this way generates knowledge of both the dance form, and the total contextual setting. A general constellation of factors related to the event (such as the performers, the preferred movement repertoire, and the expected audience size) can thereby be considered. Also, a focus upon repeated versions of the drum dance event reveals the integrated process of dance and dance making. In brief, in examining different drum dance performances, in different settings, and against a general social and ideological perspective, the performance structure can be clarified.

Having considered the aim of dance and dance making, and having aligned my assumptions and abilities with the task, it is now possible to turn to the analysis of examining the idiom, the social cultural context, and the performance event. However, prior to decoding the component parts, I will review the historical accounts to assess the traditional movement component. As stated earlier, this historical dimension is particularly important, since today drum dance event is re-interpreted only by a few. Thus, in order to ascertain to what extent the formal movement structure has remained true to itself, a historical frame of reference must be supplied.

TABLE 3. DRUM DANCE DATA: TAPED VIDEO RECORDINGS

IGLOOLIK	ESKIMO POINT	EXPO/VANCOUVER	RANKIN INLET
*Teaching tapes of N. Piugaatuq in school April 1986	*Drum dance filmed in home of Annie Sewoee April 1987	*Baker Lake Dancers July 1986	Rankin Inlet Inuit Drum Dance Excerpt from film: Kaminuriak - Caribou IBC Ottawa
**Easter Drum Dance Commissioned by John Houston for Owl Company Productions of "Xmas in Igloolik" IBC Igloolik April 1986	Xmas Celebration Parts I & II December 1986 Filmed by IBC Rankin Inlet	**Eskimo Point Dances Northland Expo-excerpts Filmed by IBC Yellowknife	
"Inuit Way of Dancing" Elder's Conference in Hall Beach, Spring 1985 IBC Igloolik	Welcome to Arviat Treeline Productions Alan Code		
"Quilaut" Parts I & II Commissioned by Prof. Tanimoto, Hokkaido, Japan 1987 IBC Igloolik			

Interpreter:
- for teaching tapes: 2 students related to N. Piugaatuq
- for IBC film: Zak Kunuk

*personally filmed
**attended

TABLE 4: DRUM DANCE DATA: KEY PERFORMERS* and INTERPRETERS FOR INTERVIEWS

IGLOOLIK	ESKIMO POINT	EXPO/VANCOUVER	RANKIN INLET
Noah Piugaatuq	Donald & Alice Suluk		Ollie & Lizzie Ittinuar
Moses Kalliroq (1986)	Mary Thompson		Marie Tictac
Rhoda Qanatsiuq			
Emile Immaroittuq	Annie Sewoee	James Ukpaqaaq, Lucy Kounak	Joe Patterk
Hugh Lloyd	Mollie Kidlapik	Suzanna Iyapo	Marie Tictac
Zak Kunuk	Casmir Natarqunik	Itimah Hadnari	Rhonica Angutituar
	Mollie Kidlapik		Theresa Kimaliakjut
	Eric Anoee		
	Linda Napayak		

*Names of performers are underlined.

PART II

THE MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

PART II - THE MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

CHAPTER 1: THE HISTORICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Delight in Singing

It's wonderful
to make up songs
but all too many of them fail.
It's wonderful
to have your wishes granted:
but all too often
they slip by.
It's wonderful to hunt reindeer
but all too seldom
you succeed,
standing like a bright fire
on the plain.

Excerpt from Netsilik song
(Piuvkq) Rasmussen 1931*

A Magic Song

You earth
Our great earth
See, oh see
All these heaps
Of bleach
The wind-dried skeletons
They crumble in the air
The night's world
The night's world
Air
Bleached bones
Wind-dried skeletons
Crumble into the air
Hey, hey, hey

Excerpt from Iglulik Song
(Padloq) Rasmussen 1930**

INTRODUCTION

Early ethnographic accounts recorded these two excerpts of Inuit song. The first one represents an original song of a drum dancer. A few products of this "wonderful" occupation of making songs have fortunately survived through the aid of Edison cylinders (circa 1902), but the drum dancer's production of form (as it manifests itself in time and space) seems to have

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*Translation by T. Lowenstein (1973:45).

**Translation by J. Columbo (1981:66).

"crumbled into the air.* K. Rasmussen recognized the ephemeral nature of drum dancing in 1921 when he speculates about the possibility of recording it for psoterity:

> Some slight idea may perhaps be given someday when the 'talking film' has attained a higher degree of technical perfection - if it gets there in time - It would then have to be a combination of the songs in the Eskimo tongue and the dancing in lively pictures.
> (Rasmussen, Vol. VII:1:230)

Rasmussen's phrase *"if it gets there in time"* clearly recognizes the fragility of rapid acculturation upon the dance form. His fear that an incomplete knowledge of the dance will exist is unfortunately affirmed in the current lack of literature in Inuit drum dance. Indeed, the language of dance is no longer spoken as frequently as it used to be; the drum dance traditions incomplete in today's changing, quasi-urban world. Accordingly, in order to define the movement parameters of Inuit drum dance, the intent of this chapter is to anchor the idiom as firmly as possible in historical accounts.

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*A reference chart at the end of the chapter records all the movement descriptions that exist in historical accounts.

A. THE DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS

At the time of Rasmussen's study, the only technical assistance available for recording dance was the camera. Six stills of Copper Inuit drum dancing remain from those taken by L. Hansen, the Danish photographer, who accompanied Rasmussen's 1923 expedition (see Appendix III:1 a-c). But besides these photographs, the only pictorial record of drum dancing in the Canadian Central Arctic consists of three illustrations. Two of these are from the Iglulik area, one derived from C. F. Hall's report(1864),* and the other from Rasmussen's report (1921). The third is a drawing from among the Copper Inuit printed by Jenness (1922), (see Appendix III:2 a-c).

However, the value of this pictorial evidence is limited. The recorded gestures represent a desire to initiate inquiry into the dance structure rather than actually identifying it. Specifically, a record of basic positions enables us only to infer the most likely movements between positions as well as simply guess at the complex variations that characterize the action in terms of its effort or energy used. Obviously, therefore, the limited source material is less than adequate to re-construct the drum dance event.

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*Since Hall's notes were published posthumously from scattered notes in a book edited by Nourse, the anthropologist T. Mathiassen (1928:5) warns that the material "should be handled with great caution as the information and illustrations in it often seem to have come from quite other Eskimo tribes."

Furthermore, it should be noted that the photographic images which do exist distort the essence of the traditional drum dance event; the photographs were apparently taken the next day outside the igloo or against one wall after the rest of the snowhouse had been demolished. Also, the action shots remain unconvincing; they seem more like publicity shots than scientific evidence since the smiling faces, turned towards the camera, have obviously been distracted from the crucial interaction between the singers and the dancer.

In the Central Canadian Arctic, descriptive lyrics doubling the mimetic action simply do not occur.* Further, the only written descriptions of the drum dance have been assembled by nineteenth and twentieth century explorers, anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and popular writers.

In general, the available accounts reflect a tendency to focus upon the outward aspects of the dance rather than upon its intrinsic properties - that is, the basic elements that identify the body moving in space, in time, and with specific efforts. This oblique approach results not only from the technical problems of recording body movements but also from the viewer's subjective understanding. However, before discussing the problems of selective perception and subjective assumptions about such concepts as movement, expenditure of effort, and rhythm, some other reasons contributing to the lack of information about drum dancing should be considered.

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*A Western Copper song explicitly states the movement vocabulary in "A Song About How I Dance," translated by Roberts and Jenness (1925:497).

My arms they wave high in the air
My hands they flutter behind my back
They wave above my head
Like the wings of a bird
Let me move my feet
Let me dance.

Let me shrug my shoulders
Let me shake my body
My arms let me fold them
Let me crouch down
Let me hold my hands
Under my chin.

B. HISTORIC INFLUENCES

In the nineteenth century cultural conditions produced a period of prolonged contact between Whites and Inuit.* The continued search for the North West Passage, increased trade, and, in mid-century, Franklin's Relief Expeditions, and the establishment of whaling headquarters on Marble Island in the Hudson Bay, all increased the exchange of goods and ideas between Europeans and the Inuit. At least as early as the Parry and Lyon expedition to Winter Island in 1821, the Inuit were introduced to European song and dance. Lyon's journal (1821-23) records an occasion when

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*An earlier 16th century phase of exploration and marine exploitation brought little, if any, contact with Inuit. The anthropologist David Damas (1963) dates the second contact period 1821-1922, the transitional period 1922-1940, and the modern period 1940 to the present.

> in order to amuse our new acquaintances as much as possible the fiddler was on the ice, where he instantly found a most delightful set of dancers of whom some of the women kept pretty good time. Their only figure consisted in stomping and jumping with all their might (1970:16).

Similarly, John Ross's record of his 1835 expedition to the Netsilik area describes an initial encounter in which

> the violin being afterward produced, they joined our men in dancing, and thus seemed, whether it was the fact or not, to have much greater relish for music than had generally been found among the other tribes. (Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of the North West Passage, 1835:144).

The enthusiasm for European music noted by Lyon and Ross had a devastating effect on the indigenous forms of music and dance. While the Europeans learned relatively little about Inuit music dance forms, the Inuit easily adopted the new rhythms, employing both melody and two-phasic patterns. T. Mathiassen (1928:228) states that as early as 1900 in the Iglulik area Scottish reels and round dancing had supplanted native dancing.

Erosion of traditional practices increased in the early twentieth century with the establishment of trading posts* and the influence of Christian missionaries. The founding of the Catholic mission at Chesterfield in

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*At Chesterfield 1912, Cape Dorset 1913, Frobisher 1914, and Repulse Bay 1919 (Jenness 1964:12). "Between 1921 and 1931 the Hudson Bay Company alone established at least fifteen new trading sections" (Jenness 1964:35).

1912* served as a prelude to vast cultural change. By 1920, a second northern religious mission associated with the Anglican church was established in Pond Inlet, the express purpose of which was to undermine cultural practices, particularly the heathen practices of drum dancing. Bibles transcribed in the familiar Peck syllabic script arrived in Pond Inlet in 1919 and were studied by the Inuit. An Inuit convert named Umning assumed the role of apostle in the Northern Fox Basin area and interpreted the new religion for his people. Unfortunately, Uming interpreted the Bible according to his own meditation. No great lover of strenuous exercise, a man for whom hunting was something other people did to bring the booty to him and his son, Uming advocated a passive, servile Christianity. As a result, shamanistic amulets where exchanged for Christian crosses, and drum dancing, as a means of talking to the spirits through song and dance, was exchanged for Christian prayer, hymn singing, hand shaking, and solemn, emotionless Sunday services (Mathiassen 1928:235). The effects were subtly subversive. Traditionally, for example, the practice of spouse exchange had been controlled by the ritual act of drum dancing in which the tensions of sexual/ethical responsibility were openly declared. However, the self-indulgent Uming, apparently seeing no conflict between wife exchange and Christianity, saw no need to regulate sexual practice and preserve its concomitant social meaning through the dance.

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*Under Father Turquetil (Mathiassen 1928:234).

The spread of Christianity and the disappearance of drum dancing in certain areas was both rapid and relatively thorough. Mathiassen (1928:235) reports that "in a flash, the whole of the Iglulik district was won over to Uming's religion, even though some of the older people carped at it."* Although Mathiassen describes the practice of drum dancing, he presumably did not observe the dance itself since he reports, "I did not find a single drum (qilaut) preserved among the Iglulik Eskimo except a child's toy" (1928:227).

It may be surmised that both secular and religious contacts - traders and whalers, as well as Christian missionaries - influenced the dance to a greater or lesser degree in all regions (see Part III, Chapter VII). For example, the Moravian tenure in New Quebec "was long enough to completely and irreversably change many aspects of Inuit culture" (M. Lutz, 1982:9). Beginning in 1771 with the establishment of a mission at Nain, the Christian zeal to wipe out the traditional drum dance proved especially effective in this region. So much so that in 1912 S. K. Hutton, a physician to the Moravian mission, could confidently state that "the dances and orgies of the heathen people are forgotten and instead you may hear the sound of hymn singing."

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*Mathiassen's recording of the temporary demise of drum dancing circa 1920 in the Iglulik area corresponds with a written note in the inside leaf of an Igloolik informant's Bible that remarks on the cessation of the drum dance in approximately the same year.

Stefansson, during his visit to the Cornation Gulf area (circa 1910) records that:

> While their ancestors had danced often and owned many drums (the only musical instrument to the Eskimos), they themselves had of late years danced but seldom, and there was only one drum left amongst them. (1964:121-122).*

Thus, since the Inuit kept no written records and the observation of Inuit singing and dancing by Europeans was itself part of a process that eroded traditional Inuit culture, accurate information about Inuit drum dancing is scarce.

Because missionaries tended not to talk about practices they disapproved of, the first written source material on drum dancing comes from the nineteenth century British explorers. W. E. Parry (1821-23) and his second-in-command G. R. Lyon can be credited as pioneers both in exploring the Melville Peninsula and in recording the customs of Inuit. Although Parry is reputed to have recorded the practice of drum dancing (Damas, 1963:20), the relevant journal entry portrays song and dance without a drum (Parry 1928, V:300-301).* That a drum was not indispensable in the performance is also suggested by Rasmussen's comment that "the drum was manipulated in the usual manner, but often there was none available and it was not missed" (1930:66. See Appendix III, Illustration 3).

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*"many drums" might have been a reporting error since an excess of personal goods is not characteristic of traditional Inuit. Similarly, "only one drum" is misleading since communal sharing meant that one drum was sufficient.

In the mid-nineteenth century two Franklin Relief Expeditions headed by Dr. J. Rae (1847-50 and 1853-54) and one by C. F. Hall (1864-69) provided little information regarding the Inuit, and still less about the dance. Records of R. Amundsen's sojourn (1903-07) relate that although he spent two winters at Gjoa Haven before completing his voyage to the Western Sea, he was typically pre-occupied with geographical discoveries, sled journeys and material needs. However, due to this prolonged contact he was able to produce an ethnography (albeit unsympathetic) of drum dancing. However, doubtless because his interests and expertise were directed elsewhere, he did not manage to shed light on the parameters of the dance idiom.

At the turn of the century, the explorers' journalistic observations of drum dancing (described as

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*This particular song/dance performance is referred to by the anthropologist Neatby as an opportunity for Lyon "to witness the Eskimo women's version of the follies" (1984:381).

'amusements', 'high romps,' or 'childish mania') were replaced by serious investigations of 'songs and dances' by the anthropologists Boas (1886), Jenness (1913), Rasmussen, Birket-Smith, and Mathiassen (1921-22), and later by Balikci (1970). Recognizing that drum dancing is a significant cultural practice which along with language, religion, economy, games, and stories, could illuminate socio-cultural history, these field researchers attempted the arduous task of dance ethnology.

C. STEREOTYPING

In addition to the intrinsic difficulty of recording the dance, these pioneering attempts to record the dance were often hampered by cultural biases which increased the difficulty to perceive the integral union of the music and the dance. Thus, they failed to recognize the alien movement and rhythm as a bona fide dance form. Specifically, the drum dancer's unpretentious gestures - a steady beat, a repetitive step pattern which involves little if any floor space, and a drum whose sound carries a long way - represent the demands of the hunt and embody the attributes of the ideal hunter; for example, efficiency, strength, and endurance. Not surprisingly, since these unfamiliar movements and the expenditure of energy they require was frequently judged against European standards, the movements were generally viewed as repetitive and boring. Similarly, the interest in percussive rhythm was regarded as untutored and unrefined.

Accordingly, the descriptive phrases typically used in accounts of drum dancing appear to lament the absence of locomotor movements common in Western dance forms. "Only rarely are the feet moved," says Birket-Smith. Amundsen laconically notes: "he raises first one leg and then the other." And Freuchen remarks, "there isn't much room for hopping around so he usually doesn't move at all."*

In addition to this failure to comprehend the spatial aspects of drum dancing, the descriptions also communicate little appreciation of the temporal features. The drum dance exemplifies a formal emphasis on percussive rhythms rather than on melodic phrasing; specifically, it stresses a complex rhythmic pattern uniting drum beats, repetitive step action, and continuous singing. These actions are typically described as deranged or animalistic. Hall refers to "grotesque motions of the body"; Amundsen to "rhythmical stomping (and an) ungraceful dance"; Birket-Smith to the dancer's

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*Birket-Smith 1936:156, Amundsen 1908:25, Freuchen 1961:273.

"swinging from side to side like an elephant behind the bars of a cage." Jenness calls the dance a "Punch and Judy Show," and Cartwright, during a residence on the coast of Labrador (circa 1792) acknowledges that although "many of them had soft and musical voices," he says of the dances that "one would have supposed that they had learned the art from the bears of the country" (Lutz 1982:18).*

Although many observers noted the dancer's skills in terms of strength, endurance, and co-ordination, the general lack of a lexicon resulted in the tendency to outline the movement description rather than detail its complexities. Moreover, the failure to possess a common movement vocabularly meant that certain action words were employed interchangably. For example, the terms jump and hop, swing and sway, stomp and shuffle were often confused. As a result, the movement documentation was not only general, but inaccurate.

D. FURTHER RECORDING DIFFICULTIES

The integrative nature of song and dance also presented special difficulties. Rasmussen appears to have most accurately understood the interweave of dance and music. The following passage is unusual in that it records his attempt to observe drum dance movement and augment observation by actually acquiring skill in the dance. Also uncommon is his awareness that sensitivity to song/dance rhythms alone does not necessarily correspond with the ability to accurately analyze the idiom. Thus the following account asserts that detailed description is impossible without special skill training.

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*Hall 1879:98, Amundsen 1908:25, Birket-Smith 1945:156, Jenness 1959:122, M. Lutz 1982:18.

> It is a great art to keep one's attention fixed on the rhythmic movements of the body, the beats of the drum, which must accompany, yet not coincide with, the bending of the knees; then there is also the time of the melody itself, which must likewise follow the movements, and finally the words, which have to be remembered very accurately, with the inconceivably numerous repetitions recurring at certain particular parts of the song. And the singer, while keeping all this in mind, must at the same time inspire his chorus so that it led up to that ecstasy which can at times carry a single melody for hours, supported only by a refrain consisting of ayaya ayaya ... (Rasmussen 1929:230).

> I have many a time endeavored to learn these songs, so as to be able myself to take part in performance at the quaggi, but with no great success. I never found any difficulty in making up a song that should fulfill the ordinary requirements, though it was not easy to equal the natural primitive temperament in its power of finding simple and yet poetic forms of expression, but as soon as I tried to accompany myself on the drum with the very precise movements of the body that go with it, I invariably got out of time and thus lost my grip on those whom it was my business to inspire as my chorus. These attempts of my own to take part gave me an

> increased respect for this particular form of the art of singing. (Rasmussen 1929:230).

The recent ethnomusicological studies in drum dancing* understandably place little emphasis on the dance component, since their obvious focus is on the function of music-making in society, and their obvious aim an analysis of the music idiom.

The introduction of wire and tape recorders (circa World War II) has improved the quality of sound recordings of Inuit drum dance songs (Ross 1985:36). No longer dependent upon wax cylinders which were readily decomposed by temperature and humidity,** researchers have been able to analyze the songs accurately and exhaustively. As a result, the distinctive features of the song -- the time, melody, rhythm, formal structure -- have been classified. Similarly, descriptions of the drum instrument have been detailed to include the correct measurements, the Inuit terminology and the proceedings for preparing the drum.

Occasionally, in ethnomusicological research, music analysis has attempted to incorporate the data concerning

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[*] See Cavanagh's study (1982) of Netsilik music, Johnston's (1976) comparative study of the Circumpolar Regions, and Nattiez's (1988) "The Drum Dance of the Igloolik Inuit."

[**] In 1940, Folkways Records of Collected Songs by Laura Bolton, The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska, notes that the recordings are with "good, modern equipment."

age, sex, strength, and playing position of the drum dancer; but Cavanagh alone makes general observations on the diversity of the drum dancer's foot rhythm and the speed of the turning drum. Although she recognizes that the dancer's rhythms contribute to the total drum dance rhythm, her descriptions of the action is limited and perhaps misleading, since she states that the "drum hand (makes) a circular motion" (1982:81). Similarly, the difficulty of recording movement by those untrained in dance theory is also evidenced in Nattiez's work since he speaks of the drum being manipulated by "alternately making it spin with the wrist" (1979:5). In summary, accurate movement descriptions of the genre and the dancer's personal style within a given movement range cannot be found in Inuit ethnomusicology studies.

If academic anthropology and musicology have failed to provide an adequate account of Inuit drum dancing, the lack has certainly not been filled by popular accounts. Unscientific descriptions in novels and travel books occasionally provide wildly fanciful pictures of the drum dancer and the ambience of the event. Since the primary aim of these books is to stimulate sensory awareness, their attempts to describe explicit features of the drum dance style are inevitably distorted. Common misrepresentations include ambiguous images which describe the drum as being whirled and the dancer's body as gracefully swaying. Subjective adjectives such as shuffling steps and gyrating hips frequently present the action in unnecessarily lurid colors.

Popular psychological interpretations that describe the drum dancer as going into a trance state, or the dance itself as a variant of the traditional game of "putting out the lights"* have probably helped give Inuit drum dance events the dubious honor of being one of the most commonly falsified dance forms recorded. Spurious history is being written when the dance has been interpreted as part of an atmosphere of hysteria and amorous gratification. Indeed, it has been referred to as "spring madness"** or a "primitive thing" where drum, dance and song do not "matter very much."*** Amundsen, to his credit, confesses his disappointment in not "seeing something far wilder." He acknowledges that "according to my careful observation they are all quite normal and in their full senses during the whole dance, even when it was at its height."****

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*This is the game of tivajut, involving spouse exchange, referred to by Rasmussen as "masked dancing" (Volume VII:241). There is no mention of the drum. Similarly, N. Piuqaatuq of Igloolik states that masked dancing does not relate to drum dancing since "there is no sound or singing."

**Raymond de Coccola and Paul King, The Incredible Eskimo, 1954: 79.

***Duncan Pyrde, Nunaga, p. 85.

****Amundsen, Volume 2:29.

E. CONCLUSION

In summary, all accounts, even the most recent sympathetic descriptions* simply repeat familiar cliches: the drum dancer portrayed as bending and rising, swaying to and fro with each beat or "with each blow bobbing up and down and moving around in a small circle with little hopping steps."** As a result we are left with enough detailed information to reconstruct only a caricature of the dance. Without a common movement vocabulary this is the best we can hope for; limited and faintly plausible descriptions which absolutely fail to appreciate the idiom and its characteristic nuances associated with individual style.

All that is known about the standard repertoire of Inuit drum dancing (as distinct from song and drum data) is recorded in the following excerpts from nineteenth and twentieth century records. The nineteenth century resource material describing the movement inventory is derived from the accounts of the explorers J. Rae and C. F. Hall, and the anthropologist F. Boas. The twentieth century movement descriptions are drawn from the reports of R. Amundsen, V. Stefansson, D. Jenness, E. W. Hawkes, K. Rasmussen, T. Mathiassen, and K. Birket-Smith.

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*See Copeland 1985, and D. Marsh 1987.

**Marsh 1987:169.

Although the accounts serve to provide a historical perspective and enable us to perceive again the destructive stereotyping derived from colonial ethnocentric attitudes, the problem of identifying the inherent movement code still remains. Thus the following chapter seeks to introduce a common movement terminology and offer a theoretical perspective in order that Inuit drum dancing can be analyzed into its component parts. Specifically, the use of film, participant observation, and specialized training in movement description will allow the parameters of the drum dance idiom to be established. Accordingly, Inuit drum dance is isolated and recognized as *suis generis*.

FIGURE 1.

ADJUNCT INFORMATION AND MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
OF INUIT DRUM DANCE
AS RECORDED IN 19th and 20th CENTURY SOURCES

19th Century Source Material

SOURCE	ADJUNCT INFORMATION	MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
John Rae Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Sea in 1846 and 1847	July 22, 1847 Repulse Inuit (Southern Melville Peninsula) "Esquimaux encamoed about a quarter of a mile from us and had a concert every night."	"The performer being in the centre of the tent, keeps turning slowly round, whilst four or five women add their voices to the execrable sound, producing among them most horrid discord. Each of the men in his turn takes up the drum and thumps away till he is tired, when he lays it down another takes his place, and so on it goes until it has passed through the hands of all the males of the party, including the boys" (p. 171).
J. E. Nourse Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition made by C. F. Hall	November 1864 Repulse Bay area Gathering of approximately twenty-five people "Changing characters from the comic and grotesque to the serious and superstitious" (p. 96). Both men and women performers Describes dance and game 10-13 minutes each Performance ends with seance	Drum Action: Key-low-tik. Held in the left hand in different positions, but kept in constant fan-like motion by hand and blows of Kentoon struck alternately on opposite sides of the edge The Drum Dancer's Action: "Skillfully keeping the drum vibrating on the handle, he accompanies this with grotesque motions of the body, and at intervals with a song, while the women keep up their own Innuit (sic) songs, one after another, through the whole performance" (p. 98). He times the speed of a performer as high as 160 strokes per minute with the Kentoon.

(Figure 1 cont'd)

19th Century Source Material

SOURCE	ADJUNCT INFORMATION	MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
F. Boas	1883-1884 Cumberland Sound	"When the feast begins, a man takes up the drum (kilaut), ... steps into open space ... and begins singing and dancing" (p. 193).
The Central Eskimo	Associates drum dancing with great success in hunting - especially the capture of a whale. The great feasts are closely connected with the Sedna tradition celebrated in the fall. Singing and dancing are alternated with wrestling matches and the playing of "hook and crook."	"The dancer remains on one spot only, stamping rhythmically with the feet, swinging the upper part of the body, and at the same time, playing the kilaut" (p. 195).
	20th Century Source Material	
R. Amundsen	Early December 1905	"It was not exactly a graceful dance. Keeping in one spot, he raises first one, then the other leg, and sways his body forward and backward, uttering loud yells. All the time he vigorously belabours the drum with his drumstick ... the dance gradually becomes less and less energetic" (p. 25).
The Northwest Passage Volume II	Amongst the Netsilik. Duration of single drum dance approximately 20 minutes. Event - three hours. Dances performed throughout the winter The dance exercise frequently performed after a fatiguing 10-hour seal hunting day Refers to reindeer dress, elegantly ornamented; the leading elder wearing cap and gloves.	

(Figure 1 cont'd)

20th Century Material

SOURCE	ADJUNCT INFORMATION	MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
V. Stefansson Discovery: The Autobiography of V. Stefansson	Amongst the Copper 1910 mid-May Coronation Gulf area Celebrating the arrival of guests Dance begins in the afternoon and ends at 8 p.m. Told that "while their ancestors had danced often and had owned many drums (the only musical instrument of the Eskimos), they themselves had of late years danced but seldom, and there was only one drum left among them" (p. 122).	"Someone fetched the drum and a young woman sang for us to its accompaniment. She handled it like a tambourine and played it in a manner quite different from that of the western Eskimo" (p. 122).
D. Jenness Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18 Volume 12	Amongst the Copper the dancer will call on his audience to sing louder if the chorus is not maintained with full vigor, and will himself raise his voice to its highest pitch. The wife vigorously leads the singing when her husband is dancing.	Warmup Description: "The dancer, whether a man or a woman (for the Copper Eskimos make no difference in this respect), begins with a few beats of the drum as though testing it, then holds it up in both hands and waves it up and down, or else taps the middle of the membrane lightly on the under side" (p. 224). Dance Description: "Then he starts his song, balancing himself alternately on either foot. The audience join in when they recognize the words, and as soon as the song is going with a good swing the man begins his dance proper, beating his drum, swaying his body and circling round the ring to the accompaniment of the music. Often he lowers his drum towards the end of the end of the refrain, raps it in the middle a few times

(Figure 1 cont'd) 20th Century Material

SOURCE	ADJUNCT INFORMATION	MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
D. Jenness (cont'd)	"The Eskimos wear their finest clothes in the dance house, clothes with colored bands and tasselled fringes" (p. 224). Refers to the wearing of gloves while dancing.	and starts the verse lest his audience may have forgotten the sequence" (p. 224). Ikpakhuah then took the drum. "He was a celebrated dancer, and with lively but graceful movements sprang round and round the ring, leaping on alternate feet, and whirling the great drum to and fro while the low canvas roof puffed up and down with its wind. He struck the drum on the far side of the handle, then, as he swung it back, brought it to a stop on the stick with very little noise; other natives who were less expert made the return swing resound almost as much as the full stroke itself" (p. 225).
Helen H. Roberts and D. Jenness	Amongst the Copper Associates drum dance with greeting taking place on winter evenings, or sometimes in the day in stormy weather.	"The dancer moves slowly round and round the circle, keeping his knees slightly bent; sometimes he hops lightly on both feet, more often he moves them alternately, but without any attempt to keep time with the actual drum beats" (p. 10).
Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1918 Volume XIV: Eskimo Songs	States that in the *pisiq* "the performer wields the drum himself, the rest of the people simply accompanying him in the singing" (p. 10). Both sexes dance.	Witnessing two Hudson Bay dancers, he comments: "The music seemed very monotonous, and the movements of the dancer still more so, the performer simply shuffling around and around as he beat a rapid tattoo on his drum" (p. 11).
	"The host leads off in the dancing and frequently modifies his song in order to sing the praises of his guest; the guest has the perogative of performing the next dance" (p. 12).	

(Figure 1 cont'd) 20th Century Source Material

SOURCE	ADJUNCT INFORMATION	MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
E. W. Hawkes The Labrador Eskimo	Associates drum dancing as part of a widespread whale festival. Common to Alaska, Central and Asiatic Eskimo.	"The body, with odd jerking of the arms and stamping of the feet, answers the roll of the drums in the dance" (p. 12).
K. Rasmussen Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924 Volume IX	Amongst the Copper. Describes the feast as lasting the whole night. Men and women form the chorus. The drum dancer stands in the centre of the ring and is also the leader of the song. He opens the song and the chorus joins in. Strength is necessary as a man acting as singer, drummer, and dancer may dance an hour at a stretch. Mentions special dance garments.	"The dances, which comprise jumps, writhing the body, and swaying the hips, all inflexibly in time with the drum-beats, take so much out of the performers that they are usually a mass of prespiration when they retire" (p. 130).
Volume 7 No. 1	Amongst the Iglulik. Associates drum dancing with autumn and dark season - "as it were desired to chase away the thoughts of the winter now inevitably approaching" (p.227).	"The singer stands in the middle of the floor, with knees slightly bent, the upper part of the body bowed slightly forward, swaying from the hips, and rising and sinking from the knees with a rhythmic movement, keeping time throughout with his own beating of the drum" (p. 229).
Volume 2 No. 2	Amongst the Caribou Inuit The performer called Igartut, those who accompany song.	"The one who was to sing — or whose songs were to be sung -- would then take up position in the middle of the floor, with closed eyes, and accompany the song with a swaying of the hips ... The drum was manipulated in the usual manner, but often there was none available, and it was not missed" (p. 66).

(Figure 1 cont'd)

20th Century Source Material

SOURCE	ADJUNCT INFORMATION	MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
T. Mathiassen *Report on the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24 Volume 6 No. 1*	Amongst the Iglulik He apparently did not observe a drum dance since, "I did not find a single drum (qilaut) preserved among the Iglulik, except as a child's toy" (1928:227). Relates drum dancing as one of the "greatest pleasures of the Iglulik" (Ibid.). Occurred in winter time, whilst they still lived in part from the supplies left over from the summer."	"As a rule only the men danced one at a time; he took the drum and with a rocking movement, allowed the frame to fall upon the drum stick, he himself swaying his body from side to side and singing, when one man was tired another continued."
K. Birket-Smith 1929 *Volume V*		"The dance will often being with the dancer striking a number of rapid, gentle blows on the right side of the drum ring or on the skin itself, sometimes on its upper side and sometimes on the under side. Then the drum is started revolving about its own axis, the beats hitting the under edge of the ring alternately on the left and the right side so that the drum-stick in both cases points inwards towards the middle of the drum. When the beat is on the left side, the palm of the hand turns upwards, on the right side the palm is downward. Later on in the dance the beat is often made in such a way that the stroke on the left side is made with the drum-stick pointing away from the drum" (p. 270).

(Figure 1 cont'd)

20th Century Source Material

SOURCE	ADJUNCT INFORMATION	MOVEMENT DESCRIPTION
K. Birket-Smith (cont'd)		"The dance is performed almost on one spot. The dancer stands with his body bent slightly forward, now and then moves his feet a little, and gently sways the body above the waist backwards and forwards. It looks just like an elephant swaying behind the bars of his cage. Sometimes he also bends his knees a little. Some remain on the same spot all the time, others take a few steps to one side and return again soon afterwards" (p. 270). Drum Action: holding the drum slowly rocking it from side to side on its own axis, the drum-stick beating alternately.
A. Balikci The Netsilik Eskimo 1970	Associates dance with - song partnerships: establishing friendly relations - song duels and conflict resolution - "less formal more spontaneous drum dancing"	"The song fellows stood in the middle, holding each other by the waist, smiling at the audience, and crying, 'Hi, hi' as a sign of joy and friendship. They rubbed noses, called each other idluarjuga (my song cousin), and then one of the wives started singing, with the refrain repeated by a group of women behind her. When her husband danced in a slow pace, beat the drum and danced in a slow pace, beat the drum and shouted 'I ai, ai ai'" (p. 141).

(Figure 1 cont'd)

TWENTIETH CENTURY

ILLUSTRATIVE ACCOUNTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Birket-Smith. The Eskimo	"The drum booms with a hollow, mysterious sound, and its montony batters on the nerves until they reach breaking point. Even more wildly the dancer beats the edge of the drum till it would seem certain to break. His gaze grows distant; spaces open before him; herds of caribou in creaking snow: mountains of meat ...! And the women's chorus continues undisturbed, with the everlasting refrain aya-ja, aya-ja-ja..." (p. 155-156).
R. De Coccola and Paul King 1986	"He began beating the drum slowly, his feet immobile, but his body shaking up and down and sideways by fits and starts, like a dog just out of water. Warmed up, Nerlak beat the drum louder and faster as he jerked and leaped around the circle of standing spectators ... Lost in a magic dream, he was evoking the innermost secrets of his soul. Each time he beat the drum he spun around, finally bending forward as if to leap like a fox. Then, soaked in sweat and groaning with near exhaustion, his voice hoarse and his mouth overflowing with saliva, Nerlak passed the kattuk to the nearest women, muttering, 'Here, take it and dance.'" (p. 185).

PART II THE MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

CHAPTER II DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

IDENTIFYING THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

> Of whatever place he is,
> That man, let me go and dance beside him.
> He from Puwlig,
> That man, let me go and dance beside him.
> Whether he will shoot --
> Whether he will stab me or not,
> Since I cannot help it,
> Let me go and dance beside him,
> Let me go and dance beside him,
> Let me go and dance beside him,
> He from Kanqhiryuaq,
> That man, let me go and dance beside him.
> Whether he will stab me or not,
> Since I cannot help it,
> Let me go and dance beside him.
>
> (Excerpt from Copper song - Robert and Jenness: 1925:464)

This drum dance song expresses not only an individual's desire to enter into a familiar dance, but also conveys the notion that this desire, when mediated by a shared traditional movement, promises an especially intense fulfillment. Every one knows that the language of the body can enter into powerful dialogue with other bodies of the same movement tradition. Similarly, every cultural researcher knows that these traditions are formed from a repertoire of movement which are selected and combined differently to create distinctive cultural patterns. Less obvious, and more pertinent, is the manner in which expression in movement motivates individuals to a communal dance experience, yet simultaneously guides them to their own unique realm of experience.

While the spectacle of drum dancing can be described, a full understanding of the dance must begin with an analysis of its established formal principles. This is necessary because movement itself is the idiom in which the dance form communicates. My inquiry, therefore, begins with an analysis of the internal dance structure rather than with an investigation of the dance as an aspect or function of an external, religious, socio-economic or political source.

Any study of the movement can reveal both how a particular people's tradition determines a common movement pattern and how individuals improvise upon this given pattern in order to create their own personal styles. My immediate focus will be on the former, since my intention here is to define a specific cultural movement tradition. The question that orientates my examination is this: what are the broad parameters that constitute drum dance style as practiced by the majority of its cultural members, representing the Central Canadian Inuit?*

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*For a discussion of individual variation upon this cultural pattern, see Part IV Chapter II.

To answer this question I looked at video-tape documentation which enabled me to see and study the movement repertoire repeatedly and in slow motion. However, although advanced technology can facilitate study of the structural details of the kinetic content, the essential properties of drum dancing are best understood by its performers, because it is the dancer himself who materializes the movement. Thus in order to present the normative features of Inuit drum dance I have sought guidance from drum dancers as well as from a personal/aspirational apprenticeship to expert dancers. My own participation in the dance allowed me to experience the feeling quality of the movements. This actual physical involvement in the dance form proved to be an indispensable part of my research.

Obviously, the gestalt of drum dancing must be perceived before it can be meaningfully analyzed; i.e., the idiom must be appreciated in its integrity before it can be broken down into its component parts. According to Laban's theory, we can perceive the gestalt by distinguishing the constituent elements of time, space and the use of the body. Accordingly, to get a sense of what is invariant in Inuit drum dance we must discuss the rhythmic constants, the use of the body, and the element of space. Not surprisingly, since the dancer is also a drummer, descriptive analysis also focuses on the movements related to the drumming activity. Here, the intent is not only to describe the action, but also to relate something of the dynamic aspect by describing the spatial tensions involved in the inter-relationship of the body and the drum, the inherent rhythmic quality derived from structural form.* The descriptive analysis will be augmented by photographic images.**

A. The Rhythmic Component

Overview

Generally we think of drumming and dancing as two different modalities. In Inuit drum dancing this conventional distinction is indeed misleading since in this idiom the dancer is essentially a drummer and the drummer is essentially a dancer. This fact must be stressed: there is no generic difference between dancer and drummer. Although the drum dancer's perception of rhythm is akin to that of any other dancer in that the rhythm is understood "not only (as) duration divided through strong emphasis, but equally (as) a spatial and dynamic event of nuances and tensions" (V. Maletic 1987:

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*See Laban's study in Choreutics (1966) for an understanding of spatial dynamics.

**Although some photos represent camera shots, the majority are derived from stilling the video-tape data and shooting camera shots.

95). What is stressed here is that the drum dancer perceives *the body as an agent of time, as a moving musical instrument.* In drum dancing, this inherent rhythmic relationship is significant in as far as the movement (initially organized around the drum as its point of origin) culminates in a pulse that reveberates through the dancer's entire body. Ultimately the dancer harmonizes the rhythmic whole with separate, body-part actions, the spontaneously/improvised drum dance* characteristically controlled by the solo dancer's repetitive step pattern.

The most common element of Inuit drum dance rhythm is its binary pulse. This is established by the dancer striking alternately the far/opposite and near rim underside of a large frame drum. Thus it is from this baseline of duple pulse that every dancer moves. Another feature of Inuit drum dancing is its rhythmic structure characterized by a cyclical pattern that begins, ceases and begins anew. Points of stillness, therefore, are not built into the structure of the dance but occur at the end of each dancer's turn. Moreover, implicit in cyclical time is the intent to create dramatic tension by means of an overriding rhythmic unity; the tensions carried

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[*] Although the term "spontaneous" refers to rhythms through which movements organically grow out of antecedents into predictably consequent movements, "improvised" refers to rhythmic movements that are delineated by certain conditions or specific cultural parameters.

forward until at an appropriate moment the accumulated rhythms are suddenly halted to produce a climatic ending to the dance.

Normally, within the duration of one song, the dancer and singers attempt to complement each other and achieve a sort of shared rhythmic pleasure. However, the duration of this entwined enjoyment may be extended by increasing the length of song dance. This is usually done by the singer repeating the same song or beginning another song (discussed later; see Part III).

The dynamic aspects of drum dance rhythm are also characterized by several other identifiable features. The most obvious is a moderate to slow basic pulse; a pace which encourages the balancing of tensions. In addition, this primary rhythm is accented with an increasing and decreasing speed and volume. This in turn highlights the efforts expended in the movement and makes the dance appear as a test of stamina, whether it lasts for two, seven, or more minutes. In other words, the increasing and decreasing pace draws attention to the athleticism involved; the energy expenditure associated with an efficiency linked to recuperative rhythms. In this particular aspect, I believe, the drum dance may be perceived as a kind of metaphor for the hunt.*

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*Informants consistently recalled that good hunters were good dancers. N. Piuqaatuq of Igloolik compared the skill of knowing how and where to hit with the beater hand as knowing how to successfully drive a dog team; for example, "getting a good start and/or keeping a good pace."

Drum Considerations

Holding the Drum

In Inuit drum dance the drum is held with a forehand grip close to the neck of the handle. It is usually held in the left hand so that it can be struck with the right hand. However, the norm is not the rule: if the drum dancer happens to be left-handed, the drum is held in the right hand. More significant is the fact that throughout the dance, the drum hand never changes.

The Warm-Up Position

The strength required to wield a heavy drum so that it appears weightless demands an initial warm-up phase prior to the commencement of the dance. Although the warm-up phase may be long or short, the dance never begins with the dancer suddenly dancing. In the warm-up position the drumhead can be held in as many as three different positions. The drumhead may be placed down on a low-level vertical plane, or raised with a flexed-arm position to the horizontal plane at medium level, or raised to the vertical (middle-high) plane by increasing the elbow flexion (see Plate 1 a-c). The latter appears to be the option preferred by women, yet, as illustrated by a man from Pelly Bay (see Plate 2), there is nothing that prevents a man from adopting this position.

Women frequently maintain the drum in a vertical position, both as a warm-up and performance playing position. Obviously, this position offers a mechanical advantage for supporting the drumhead weight (Plate 3 a,b). Although men may employ the drumhead in the vertical plane (either raised or lowered) as a warm-up position, in adopting the performance position, the drumhead is lowered or raised into the middle-horizontal plane (see Plate 3 c,d). The horizontal position represents the preferred performance position for men. Indeed, since this playing position is the most difficult to sustain, it exhibits the superior strength normally commanded by men.

The Warm-Up Phase

The striking hand may warm to the drum in a number of ways. Normally, the warm-up phase of the dance is indicated by the dancer tapping the beater close to the handle either repeatedly on the near rim or alternately on the frame's underside on both the far and near rim. The third, and relatively rare option, involves tapping directly on the skin underside of a vertically inclined drumhead (see Plate 4c). While it is frequently stated in ethnographic accounts that the drumhead is never itself struck, this is true only of the actual performance. Thus it is clarified here that the initial or preparatory phase can include direct hits on the drumhead.

The termination of the warm-up phase is indicated when the drum dancer moves the torso forward into a hovering, leaning position. Although this increasing of the forward lean is subtle, and at times imperceptible to the untrained eye, it has a dramatic significance since a relatively passive stance is exchanged for an active one; the heightened muscular tensions creating a sense of imminent dynamism (see Plate 5). The other key regard of transition from a passive to an active mode is that the beater hand no longer taps close to the near rim, but reaches for the mid rim.

The Playing Action

The skill required to wield a large drum depends upon a drum hand action that keeps the drumhead rotating on its own axis, and the beater hand action that alternately tips the drumhead facing either upwards towards the ceiling or downwards towards the floor.* In order to keep the drumhead afloat in the horizontal plane, the weight of the drum must be supported by the whole arm, not just the lower arm. Accordingly, the wrist is held slightly higher than the elbow. Thus, in the actual playing position the drum moves along a spatial diagonal rather than simply aligned with the horizontal or vertical plane. Moreover, because a concern for efficiency demands that the drum activity move in a near constant relationship to the dancer, the upper limb action is characterized by a "fixed-track position" that maintains the activity in front of the body and in an approximate relationship to the centre of the torso.

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*If the far/bottom rim is contacted first the drumhead facing tilts downward. Conversely, contact on the near rim tilts the facing upwards.

B. THE BODY COMPONENTS

Postural Shape

In Inuit drum dance, as in other places, the dancer's postural stance identifies a particular attitude towards their own centre of gravity. In drum dancing, the typical stance allows for the enjoyment of a gravitational pull: it does not counter the force of gravity with an intent to achieve verticality.* Specifically, the posture is characterized by a slight narrowing of the upper torso, the shoulders released down and slightly forward and an easy knee and ankle flexion that promotes the use of the whole foot.

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*The centre of the body is interpreted differently in various dance forms. Whereas in Inuit drum dance the focal point of the body is identified with the middle to low area of the torso, in ballet it associates with the middle or high sternum area (see C. Dell 1970:22, and S. Bodner 1979:4).

In the active hovering lean position, the feet are pressed fully against the floor in a normal-wide stance approximately parallel to the hips.* Moreover the released knee and ankle flexion facilitates an affinity for moving close to the ground at a middle to low level.

Fundamentally, drum dancing is exemplified by the dancer's use of the whole body. More specifically, the movement emphasizes a relationship to the centre of the body. What this means is that the lines of energy used by the dancer are perceived by theorists as passing centrally through the body rather than along transverse lines that connect the periphery of the kinesphere.** As a result, the movement sequence is characterized by movements originating from the centre outwards. Accordingly, the drum dancer's gestures alternately flow outwards from the body and gather towards the centre. This quality of expanding and contracting within the (personal) space, as distinct from the intent to carve or shape space endows the movement with a subtle fluidity;* the movement promoted with normal breath rhythms. All movements in Inuit drum dance are variations in this pattern; for example, growing and shrinking, opening and closing. In addition, the implication of the drum dancer organizing movement centrally is that the movement progressions are characterized by simultaneous rather than successive action;** the form of the dance two-dimensional.

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*This position is identified by Western dancers as an 'easy parallel' or 'hip-track' position.

**Laban's concept of the kinesphere is defined by Dell (1970:69) as "the limits of an individual's reach space without changing place or taking a step." In ballet many movements exemplify the use of far reach space, the points along the periphery joined by sweeping arc-like actions of the arms and legs.

The Upper and Lower Body Unit

A unique and critical characteristic of Inuit drum dancing is the use of contrasting spatial tensions associated with the upper and lower body. In the upper body the torso acts as a column, moving to a greater or lesser degree with the side to side gestures that exemplify the drumming activity; i.e., opening/widening, and closing/narrowing. Accordingly, the horizontal spreading action transmits into a marked lability of the upper body. By contrast, spatial patterns animating from the lower body unit exemplify a closed shape, the repetitive step action emphasizing the stability derived from the held tensions of subtle pelvic shifts and joint rotations.

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*This quality of movement is identified in Effort Shape Theory as "shape-flow." The concept refers to the affinities of body, space, and effort. In Inuit drum dance a rhythmical pattern is derived from changes in the body parts away or towards the centre. In short, the movement form is "body orientated and is not concerned primarily with the space around the body" (Dell 1970:46).

**The term "simultaneous" refers to the inclusion of body parts that move all at once. "Successive" movement, conversely, refers to actions that spread in wave-like sequences (Dell 1970:79).

The Body's Shape-Size

In addition to these postural countertensions, the dancer may also vary the apparent size of the body; getting smaller or larger by decreasing or increasing the forward torso lean in the sagittal/wheel plane. However, since these variations are associated with the dancer's personal style they represent a preference rather than constituting a regular or typical feature.

The Body-Part Actions

The Torso

Torso gestures can be minimal or expansive, remaining relatively held around the body axis or increasing the torso's use of space by a flexible, supple use of the spine. Although lowering and raising the torso in the sagittal/wheel plane has already been noted as a means of creating individual style, it should also be noted that a directional orientation of the torso may indicate a rock or sway-like action. A rocking action is generated by a minimal forwards and backwards movement in the sagittal plane. A sway-like action is produced when the dancer shifts the torso laterally, to make use of the vertical plane. Although the torso action may appear simple to execute, the gestures involve a subtle range of options; the gradations in torso actions implying tilts, rotations, twists and shifts.

The Head

In co-ordinating the head action, the drum dancer can move the head as an extension of the spine, the head remaining on top of the axis vertebrae, or it can pivot making use of the flexible neck vertebrae. The latter is exemplified with oblique head tilts or released head gestures that enable the head to move in fluid nodding gestures, either slightly sideways as in saying "no," or slightly forwards as in saying "yes." All head gestures may be performed either gently or emphatically.

The Spatial Relationship Of the Head and the Beater Hand

The relationship between the head and the beater hand evokes different spatial tensions or rhythms associated with both linear and curved forms. For example, if the head tilts right, and remains right while the beater hand crosses left to contact the far rim, then the opposition of a straight line tension occurs. If, however, the head tilts right, but reverses left as the beater contacts the far rim, the spatial straight line tension (between head and beater hand) is countered by a curved or oscillating line of tension (see Plate 6).

Although this attention to small details of head movement may appear picayune to the Western reader, for the Inuit these nuances are significant. As Noah Piuqaatuq (Igloolik 1987) notes: "In Igloolik the people don't move their heads as much as in the Keewatin area."

C. THE SPATIAL COMPONENT

Spatial features in drum dance performances vary in several ways. The dancer's performance space, synonymous with the core space (created by community members gathering round) is relatively small. Furthermore, the space actually used by the dancer comprises only a small portion of the available space. Since the drum dancer's movements are based on a flexed-limb activity, these minimal spatial requirements are concommitants of the dance form.

The Kinesphere

In the warm-up phase of the dance, the drum dancer's movements are predominantly gestural. Partial weight transfers reinforce the binary pulse of the drum. Gradually these gestures become more postural as the shifts of weight are incorporated into the whole body. Finally, as these gestural and postural actions combine, the movement culminates in an informal dance marked by lateral weight transfers in both travelling and non-travelling patterns. It is this dancing on the spot, augmented with sideways movement progressions and coupled with the drum dancer's fixed body facing towards the drum that defines the dance as stressing personal rather than general space.*

Although dancers universally carry a "bubble space," the specific preference for the use of personal space in Inuit drum dance minimizes the sensation of approach or arrival which is conveyed when dancers stress the use of a general space. The drum dancer, in short, interprets space as proximal or locational rather than space perceived as geometric, abstract or general.**

Extension Size

The size of personal space for the upper limbs remains in the middle-near reach space. However, the

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*Preston-Dunlop (1980:22-23) explains general space as "all that is beyond the body's reach. All that is within range is the *personal* kinesphere of each individual which is carried with him as he travels through the *general* space."

**I suggest that this cultural emphasis upon personal space is analogous to the traditional importance of individuals identifying themselves in relation to a particular place or places where life has been experienced. Accordingly, I feel that it is this personal/somatic perception of space that explains in part the Inuit's ability to gauge relationships between personal and general space; the astute ability exemplified in mapmaking.

lower limbs may provide a variation on this norm of flexed limb activity if the dancer employs a leg and foot gesture that extends side-low into the far reach position, i.e., a split-level sideways lunge.

Directional Orientation*

In Inuit drum dance, the central position of the body allows for natural (left-right) actions. For example, repetitive step patterns and the crossing and opening/widening actions of the upper limbs. However, peculiar to the repetitive step pattern is the absence of backward movements of the legs, and the near absence of traveling forward. Specifically, the intent of moving away or towards the described center does not occur in Inuit drum dance. The lack of these actions is replaced by patterned sequences of lateral weight transfers that emphasize stability. However, the dancer may move forward during an interim phase of circling with a side body facing towards the described centre. But apparently, this forward step is an option only in the tradition developed within the Keewatin region. Furthermore, although the employment of this specific step allows the hips to turn slightly, enabling an occasional cross over action of the feet to occur, the implication of a predominant front body facing means that the feet rarely cross.

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*Laban perceived that the "whole complexity of movement and dance can be deduced to basic directions which derive from our basic orientation in space related to the verticals and the horizontals of the three dimensions (height, width and depth)" (Maletic 1987:58).

Planar Dimensions*

The drum dancer gives prime value to the preservation of equilibrium. This is indicated by the importance of planar stresses. In other words, complexity is introduced into the movement by adding a dimension to each direction; the drum dancer's inner attitude towards space expressed in terms of feeling his own length, breadth, and depth in relationship to the environment (Dell 1970:84). As a result, the movement is endowed with a quality of reach or stretch. For example, the one-dimensional direction of opening and closing can be subtly altered to express the two-dimensional action of opening and widening, and closing and narrowing. Similarly, the forward lean position of the torso not only projects forward, but actually stretches as it projects. Thus, by preserving and extending the planar dimensions, the drum dancer subtly articulates his movement to convey a desired sense of stability.

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*The concept is "derived from a spational directional attitude (which) is determined in accordance with the body's angle of deflection from the vertical" (Maletic 1987:59). Specifically, the vertical plane divides the body's front-back zone; the horizontal plane separates the space into high and low zones, and the sagittal forwards-backwards plane divides the space right and left.

In brief, the overriding critical feature of Inuit drum dance structure is that movement is centrally organized, rather than spatially ordered through the options of tracing the periphery of the kinesphere or the choice of using oblique diagonals.* The dancer's stance conveys a sense of reciprocal, balanced action. Yet at the same time, the bi-directional pulls, conveyed by the creation of two-dimensional movements, promote nuances of spatial tension. In other words, the symmetry of the action articulates complexity through *graduations of equilibrium*.** This is particularly evident when the three-dimensional spatial pulls of the drum are integrated into the two-dimensional pulls associated with the functional use of the body.

Floor Design

Central Path

The use of both travelling and non-travelling activity is another salient feature of Inuit drum dance.

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*As an aside, the use of oblique diagonals is sometimes encouraged in the art form of Modern Dance where dancers consciously manipulate the torso and the limbs to transverse space for purposes of encouraging asymmetrical form. Accordingly, a sense of disequilibrium frequently promotes feelings of disquietude, excitement or adventure, as opposed to an emotional demand for balance and security promoted with symmetry.

**Although symmetry is often interpreted as body design, "the patterns and positions made by one side are taken as mirrored on the other," symmetry may also be taken as equality of activity, equality of tension, equality of intention (Preston-Dunlop 1980:3). It is this latter sense of balance that is applied here. For an understanding of symmetry as reciprocal and successive action, see Humphrey (1959:49-59).

The non-travelling movement is interpreted here to mean dancing on-the-spot, and relatively on-the-spot. The latter refers to taking two or three small steps sideways in either direction. Conversely, travelling movement indicates the dancer's intention to create a curved or circular path. The distance travelled varies considerably; the path traced and retraced for almost half the circle, or traced mainly in a single direction for one or more circles, normally clockwise (see Diagram 4).

If the path is built slowly by tracing and retracing directions, the tendency is to gradually equal out the distance in both directions. Accordingly, an inherent interest in symmetry is again evidenced.

The option of stressing a single direction, manifested as increased circling, appears to be a characteristic feature that is frequently employed by Eskimo Point and Rankin Inlet dancers. Accordingly, the movement progression differs from the norm since the standard, moderate to slow lateral weight transfers associated with a front-body facing (towards centre) are intermittently exchanged for a side-body facing, encouraging circular momentum. Indeed, it is due to the use of walking or jogging progressions on a circumferential path forwards that increased distances in the course of the dance can occur.

However, since all dancers in the Keewatin area do not introduce this option of "going round," it appears to represent an individual stylistic preference rather than a definitive regional characteristic. Again, the tendency towards symmetry is noted since the lateral weight transfers are frequently contrasted with forwards progressions, the foot pattern alternating between many and few steps and the rhythm contrasted with fast and slow pulses.

The Shape-Size of the Circle

In Inuit drum dance the dancer usually establishes a relative rather than a fixed body relationship towards the described centre. In other words, slight degrees of turn* in the front-body facing can proportionately alter the size of the circular path. If the dancer frequently employs both a front and side body facing, the process of establishing and re-establishing centre implies that the circle will be slightly augmented or diminished in size. Conversely, if the curved or circular path is traced with a relatively fixed front body facing, the resultant circle will be relatively constant in shape and size.

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*For example, one-fifth of a turn in the body.

The Single Turn

In some instances, the dancer's movement along his central path may be ornamented with a single turn. When turning, the dancer employs either a step turn indicating full weight transfers on alternate feet, or a type of pivot turn that establishes first a single weight bearing foot before accumulating degrees of a full turn. However, in either case, the turn occurs only infrequently and appears to be used primarily as a means to re-establish the dancer to the described centre.

The significance of a single turn can be perceived as promoting the dancer's awareness that the centre is distanced, or distinct from oneself; the described centre communally shared. This is distinct from employing a series of turns that establishes one's own axis as the centre.* Moreover, because the turn is normally executed in a clockwise direction, the impression is of the dancer re-orientating towards a shared centre.**

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*I suggest that the importance of a common centre in drum dancing symbolically conveys a principle of co-operative individualism in which the supremacy of the group is recognized over the authority of the individual. The anthropologist Honigman (1965:241) relates that "although Eskimo life gives the individual considerable independence, leadership apologizes for its existence."

**The use of an outward turn is rare in Inuit drum dance. This is not surprising since an outward turn can often be used to promote the impression of stressing an individual's presence to a collected body of representatives (as opposed to a shared center).

The Spatial Pattern of the Upper Limbs

The Beater Hand Path

The beater hand action involves contacting the far and near rim underside of the drum frame. However, this reaching and retrieval action may be performed along two distinct spatial paths.* Specifically, the spatial trace lines may be arc-like, executed by three linked lines of direction, or in a spoke-like manner (identifying the movement as a straight line reversal).

The repetitive pattern of linked directional lines in an arc-like swing (see Plate 7) integrates three actions of the beater hand: (1) it's transversal through the reach space of the kinesphere from the horizontal to the vertical plane** (side-across), (2) its contact with the near rim followed by a straight line reversal in an opening and widening gesture, and (3) its transition into a small looped path initiated by an increased rotation in the wrist that serves to begin the three-phase action over again.

By contrast, the straight line reversal (see Plate 8) entails a two-part action. In contacting the far rim the beater hand thrusts downwards (side-across) and

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[*] Spatial designs are theoretically referred to as trace forms in which imaginary lines and curves are left in the air.

[**] In Laban's terminology, a flat arc.

releases backwards to contact the near rim.*

Although many drum dancers prefer to employ either an arc-like swing or straight line reversal throughout the whole dance, it is not unusual that a dance may begin with the latter and move into the former (see Plate 9).

The Upper Arm Pattern

To appreciate the spatial rhythmic component of the drumming activity it is necessary to understand how the configuration of drum and beater hand create dynamic stresses by identifying preferred spatial relationships associated with structural form. In Inuit drum dance, two types of spatial patterns are employed. The most common is a bilateral, symmetrical organization of space in which the flexed arm activity represents the simultaneous action of opening/widening and closing/narrowing (see Plate 10). Less common is the option of adopting a unilateral pattern. Here, the upper limbs move *almost simultaneously* to alternate sides with the action sequenced and reversed in a single direction (see Plate 11). Specifically, when the beater hand opens and widens the drum hand closes and narrows across the body. Similarly, in the sequential phase both arms move to the opposite left sides of the body.

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*The controlled whip-like wrist and forearm action is not unlike the traditional work patterns associated with clubbing a seal or driving a dog team.

In this variation, the spatial pattern may be shaped into a symmetrical figure eight (viewed from the side). The dancer's intention to create formal spatial designs is particularly evident when the movement is sequenced in an antiphonal manner. For example, when the movement is sequenced left by the left hand (and in response to the beater contact on the far rim) the drum traverses in the kinesphere from the horizontal to the sagittal plane. In this progression the drum is momentarily suspended along the path forward and left. As the drum moves downward in a steep transversal,* the beater catches the drum's near rim. This contact reverses the unilateral direction to the opposite side, representing the top half of the figure eight design. A preparatory opening/widening swing of the beater hand, closes the circuit at the top of the eight and the follow-through action contacts the bottom rim to complete the spatial configuration.

Spatial Tensions and Drum Playing Styles

As stated, the main spatial tensions that characterize Inuit drum dance involve the contrast between the upper body mobility and the lower body stability as well as the body's two-directional orientation derived from planar dimensions and the bilateral and unilateral pattern representing the upper limbs. The third and equally significant spatial relationship is that which exists between the dancer and the drum. The dancer's inextricable connection to the drum is obviously of special interest to the Inuit since expert informants always take considerable time to demonstrate their unique playing styles or explain that "everyone is different."

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*A transversal movement is a "movement which passes between the body centre and the periphery of the kinesphere" (Dell 1970:4). In other words, the movement traverses the kinesphere but does not intersect at its centre. A steep transversal stretches upward and sinks downward, stressing height (Laban 1966:74).

Not surprisingly, good drum dancers not only seek to adapt to the drum, but also vary their relationship with it for purposes of subtle dramatic effect. Although a preferred playing style is superficially evidenced by the dancer's tendency to employ the drumhead at a particular spatial level, the dancer's deeper concern is to achieve a playing style that reflects a conscious awareness of spatial pulls and subsequent variation in efforts required to maintain a fluid equilibrium with these spatial tensions.

In adopting a playing style that emphasizes a relatively even spatial tension, the dancer establishes a nearly constant relationship with the drum at the middle-horizontal level. This results in a dynamic condition of counter-tension since the drum serves as a partner in the dance, simultaneously supporting and resisting the movements of the limbs. By implication, the dancer appears to assist and resist the drum. Thus, metaphorically, I feel an impression may be conveyed that to dance with the drum is to dance with an independent external force that is both complementary and resistive.

In another playing style the drum dancer consciously attempts to dramatically increase and decrease the spatial tension. This is vividly described by Joe Patterk, an informant from Rankin Inlet, who refers to his techinque as "laying down with the drum" (see Plate 12). In this playing style, the dancer begins the activity in the middle-horizontal position, but gradually releases the flexed-arm position downwards. As the drumhead steadily skims just above the floor, and for an indeterminate period of time, the spatial tension begins to build. Since increased muscular effort is required to keep the drumhead low, when the dancer returns the drum to the normal position, the graphic contrast in energy makes the drum appear to be almost magically released. Accordingly, the sense of overcoming through sustained effort is metaphorically conveyed.*

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*It might also be noted how this technique of "laying down with the drum" promotes a striking image that is similar to the hunter's body-shape in the practice of hiding behind a bleached seal skin frame for purposes of hunting seals on the snow surface (see Plate 12).

Furthermore, this technique of playing the drum illustrates how the movement may have the look and feel of muscular contests, the self-testing skill of "laying down with the drum" demonstrating the close interrelationship between dance and game in Inuit culture.

A third option available to the drum dancer is to adopt a playing style that reduces spatial tension by orienting the drumhead towards an upright vertical position. Since this action reduces the spatial tension, the strength requirement is decreased; the resultant spatial relationship less dynamic.

Because of the reduced strength requirement, this playing style is frequently adopted by women. However, since in the Keewatin tradition this style is frequently associated with the vertical orientation of the drum in the interim phase of travelling round, the position is also used by men. However, when men adopt this playing style it is normally used for short recuperative resting purposes, or as a means of making transitions. Conversely, if the drumhead is maintained too long in the vertical position, the effect is to minimize the import of strength and skill.

In adopting a playing style, as opposed to maintaining a playing position, the drum dancer's tendency is to combine a preference for two options (see

Plate 13). Not surprisingly, the stylistic variations in spatial dynamics are generally more evident when the dancer is employing non-travelling rather than travelling activity.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this descriptive analysis of the movement structure has enabled the parameters of the drum dance idiom to be established (see Table 5). Also, the discussion of movement has enabled me to suggest how the movement itself conveys cultural values or associates with familiar work patterns. Specifically, Inuit drum dance incorporates relatively few main features; the relatively simple organization is complemented by the introduction of rhythmic sound. This demonstrates that nuances of variation are primary in movement structure. In brief, Inuit drum dance patterns are superficially simple and few, but when augmented by a breadth and range of sub-patterns the dance can articulate an almost complex variety of semiotic subtleties (see Table 5 and 6). Furthermore, in Inuit drum dance the movement structure is characterized by balanced symmetry (see Table 7).

Figure 2.

CENTRAL PATH VARIANTS

Characteristic of
Inuit Drum Dance

Characterized by:
Curved Path and/or

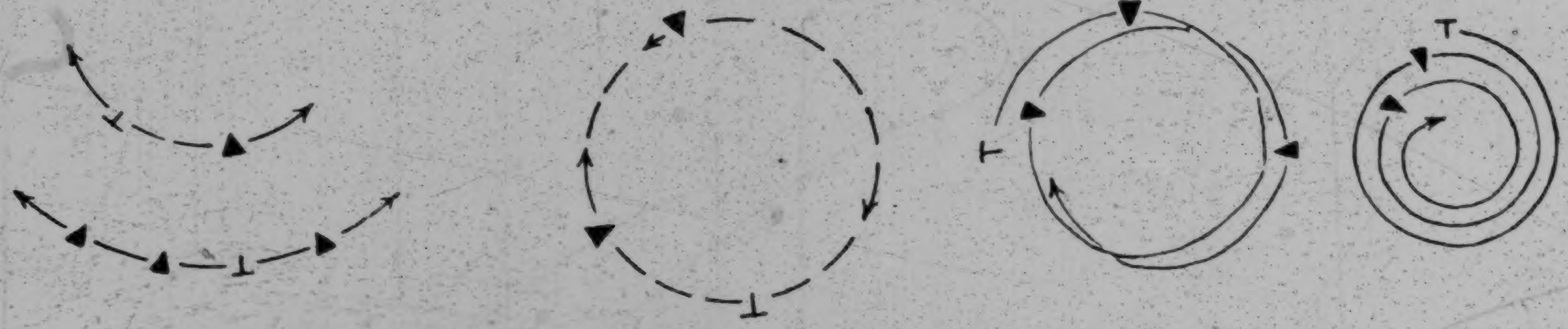
Distances of:
less than a circle

Circular Path

Approximate circle

Increased Circling

More than one circle



Traced and retraced

Option of single turn
i.e. stepping round
pivot type turn

Traced predominantly
in a single direction
(normally clockwise)

The shape-size:
augmented and
diminished

Gradually
diminished

▲ = Location spots on Central Path are not specific

⊥ = The dancer's front body facing. The point of the pin represents the dancer's nose.

Table 5.

THE CRITICAL FEATURES OF INUIT DRUM DANCE

THE RHYTHMIC COMPONENT	THE BODY COMPONENT:		THE SPATIAL COMPONENT
	Quantitative Aspects	Qualitative Aspects*	
Binary Pulse	- A fixed front-body facing towards the drum	- the movement is centrally organized opening/widening closing/narrowing	- the use of space in relationship to the general space is small (i.e. proximal space)
Cyclical Rhythm	- a relatively fixed front-body facing towards the described center	- the use of the trunk as a solid unit stresses right and left halves	- a reduced range of personal space stressing middle-near reach space
Moderate-slow Pace	- a fully planted foot position	- the division of the body into upper and lower units stresses an open-closed relationship of the large body units	- Middle-low level
Increasing-Decreasing Speed and Volume	- the forward torso lean - a warm-up phase	- the planar dimension is horizontal, i.e. the body width is exemplified in lateral weight transfers, open stance and spreading action of the upper limbs	
	- Lateral weight transfers - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -		Travelling and/or Non-travelling pattern
	- Body bounce activity on double support emphasis on raising and lowering the centre of gravity - -		Non-travelling pattern
			- The central path is curved or circular

---

[*] Referred to by Effort-Shape theorists as a body attitude. The concept is concerned with what qualities are maintained in the body, which spatial emphasis, body-part relationships and tensions are held in the body as a kind of baseline from which the movement operates (Dell 1970:82).

Table 6. THE ADJUNCT UNITS: SECONDARY DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF INUIT DRUM DANCE

THE BODY COMPONENT	QUALITATIVE VARIATIONS	THE SPATIAL COMPONENT
- Body Part Gestures a. the torso lean increased and decreased	The Body's Postural shape-size - getting smaller or larger	- The Spatial design of Central Path (curved) a. single direction (normally clockwise)
b. The torso gestures held or flexible	i.e.=tilts, " = twists, rotations, shifts	b. traced and retraced c. distance varied i.e. - less than a circle
stressing rock-like actions	" = forwards and backwards in sagittal plane	- approximate circle - increased circling
stressing sway-like actions	" = side- side in sagittal-vertical plane	- ornamentation of single turn, clockwise step turn or pivot-type turn
c. The head gestures held or released	" = oblique side tilts " = trailing head gestures - -nodding yes -nodding no	d. shape-size of circle relatively constant
d. Beater hand action		The Spatial Patterns of Upper Limbs
tracing	" = Arc-like = 3-phased action " = Straight reversal = 2-phased action " = Combined pattern	- Bilateral - Unilateral - Combined
- The Drum Playing Styles	- relatively even spatial tension - increased spatial tension = "laying down with the drum" - decreased spatial tension	

Table 7. THE INHERENT SYMMETRICAL PATTERN IN INUIT DRUM DANCE

I. THE RHYTHM OF DRUM SOUND			
1. The duration	is	short	long
2. The duple pulse	is	slow	fast
3. The tempo	is	decreased	increased
II. THE RHYTHM OF BODY ACTIONS			
1. The body shape	is	getting smaller	getting larger
2. The limbs	are	opening/widening	closing/narrowing
3. The foot pattern	is	non-travelling	travelling
III. THE RHYTHM OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE i.e. spatial progressions and spatial tensions*			
1. The body units contrasting		upper lability i.e. open	lower stability i.e. closed
2. The path design	is	curved	circular
3. The direction	is	traced and retraced	increased circling
4. The distance	is	short	long
5. The spatial tension inherent in drum playing style	is	decreased	increased

*Spatial progressions and spatial tensions refer to changing body positions and imagined spatial patterns that emerge in time, not instantaneously and all at once (Preston-Dunlop 1980:89).

Plate 1. a-c: THE WARM-UP POSITION

a. The vertical-low warm-up position

b. The horizontal warm-up position

c. The vertical warm-up position

Plate [illegible] a-g. ADAPTING FROM THE WARM-UP POSITION

A Pelly Bay dancer employs the vertical warm-up position.

Gradually the drumhead

is slowly lowered

into the inclined horizontal plane.

PLATE 3. a-d: THE PLAYING POSITION

The vertical playing position (frequently employed by women)

The Horizontal playing position (the man's normal position)

Plate 4. a-c. THE WARM-UP OF BEATER HAND

a

The beater hand in the warm-up phase tapping alternate sides (close to the handle):

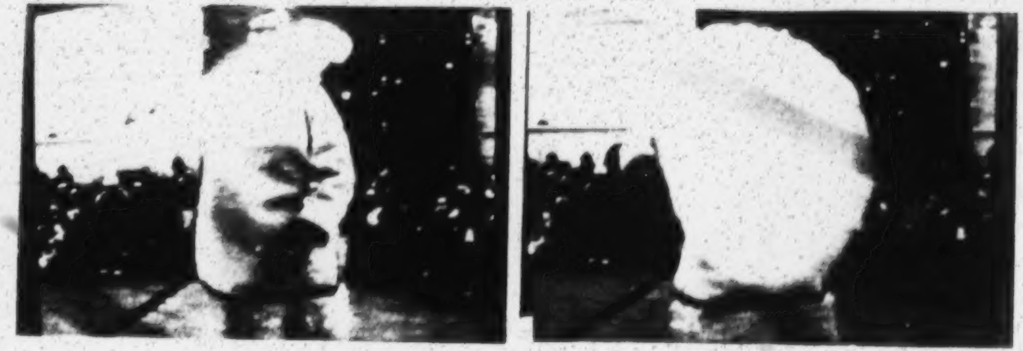
b

tapping the near side of the frame (close to the handle);

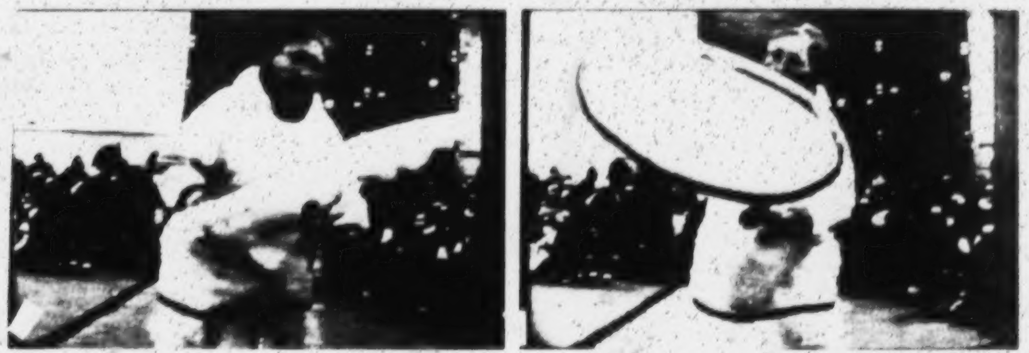
c

tapping the skin underside of the drum.

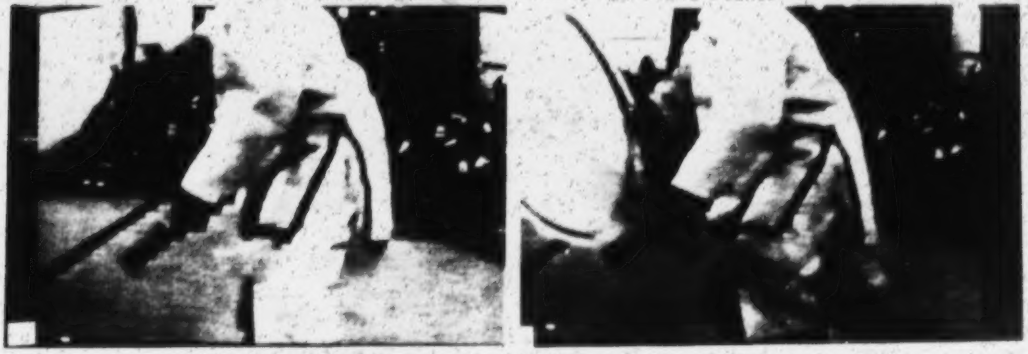
Figure 4-8. MOVING INTO THE DANCE



Moving into the dance



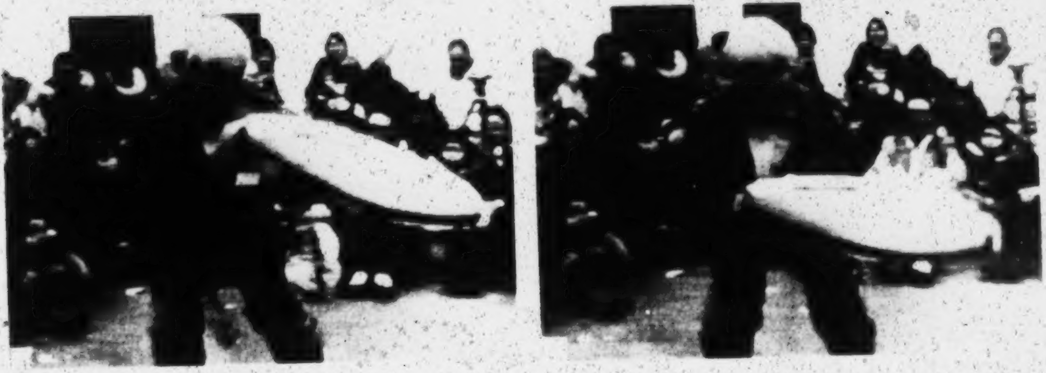
Progressing from a relatively upright stance



to an active hovering forward lean playing position at the middle-high

or the middle-low level

Plate 6. a-f. THE SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP OF HEAD AND BEATER HAND

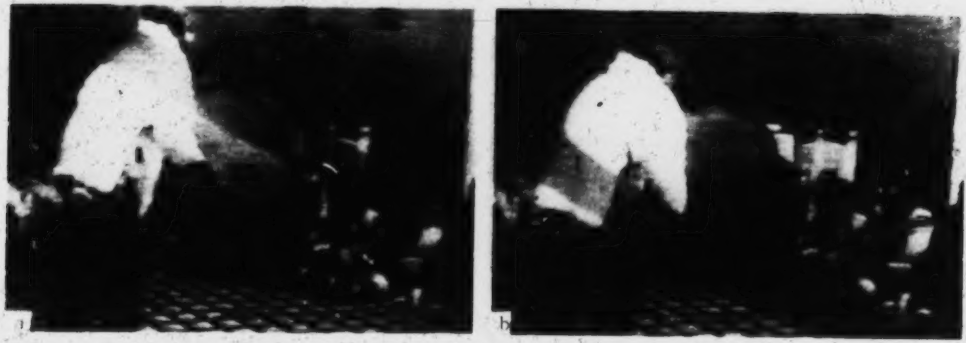


The dancer's inclusion of head timing.

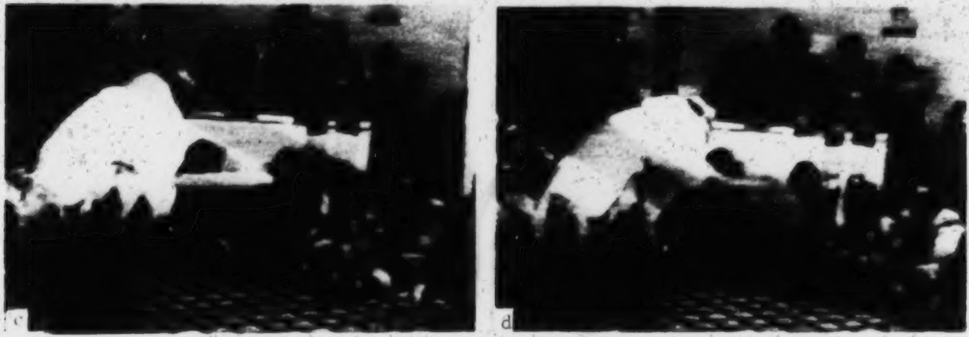
The relationship between the head and beater hand that

promotes the counter-tension of a curved or S-shaped line.

Plate 7. a-h. THE ARCH-LIKE SWING OF BEATER HAND



A flat-arc swing transverses the reach space with the forearm leading to contact the bottom rim.



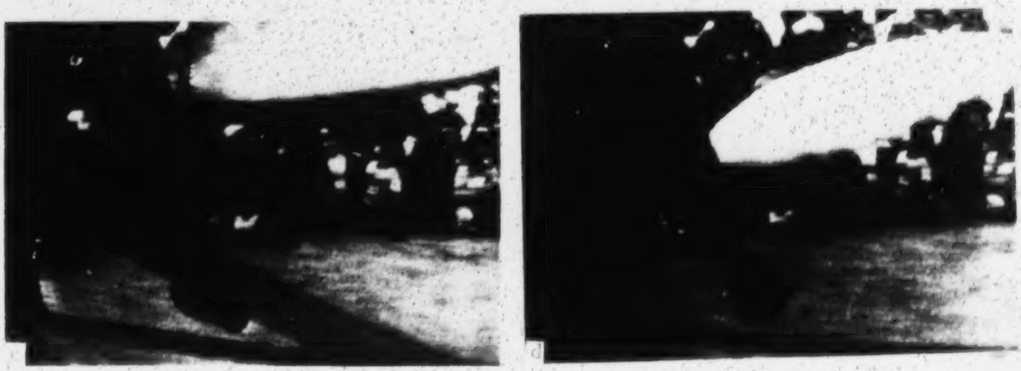
The dancer contacts the near rim with a straight-reversal, the elbow leading.

The gesture opens and widens into a small looped transition

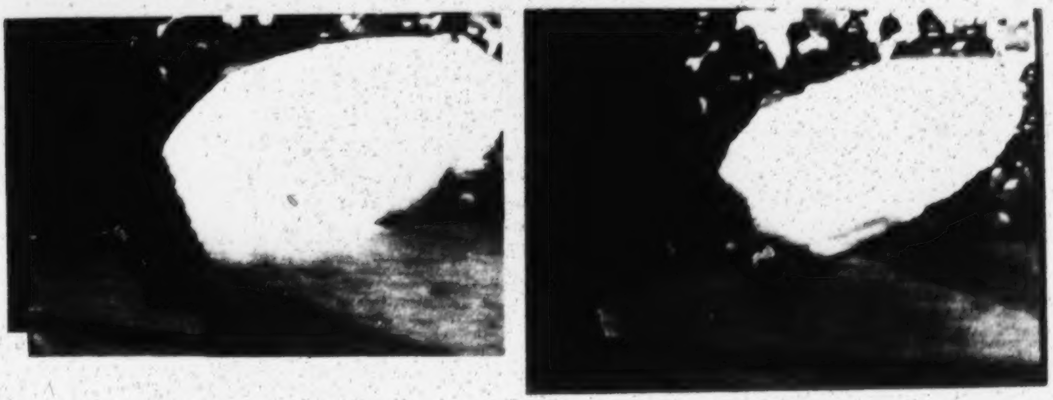
that is initiated by a wrist rotation.

Plate 8. a-f. THE STRAIGHT REVERSAL OF BEATER HAND: two-phased action

The beater hand striking downwards and/or across in a club-like manner.



The straight reversal action tracing backwards with the elbow leading



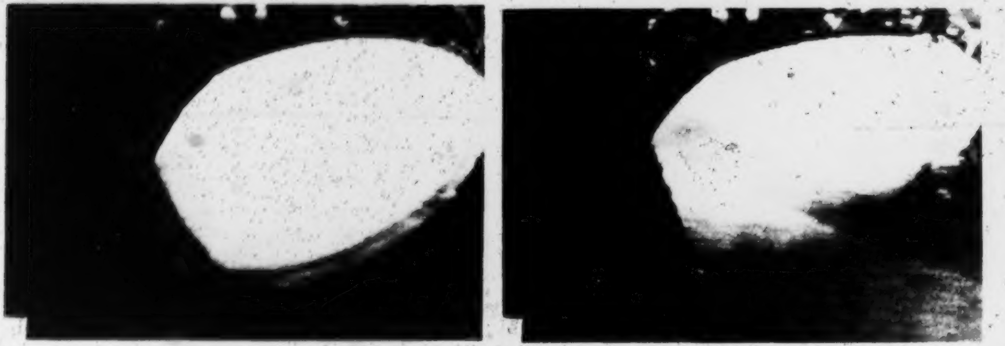
in order to meet

the near rim of the underside of the drum-head frame.

[illegible] THE COMBINED PATTERN

Beginning the dance with a spoke-like action of

the beater hand in a straight line reversal.



Later the action is combined with an arc-like swing.

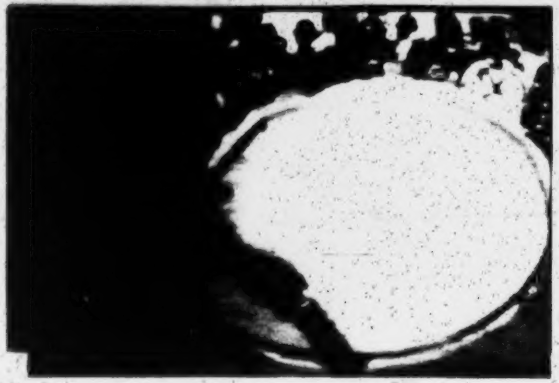


Plate 10. a-g. BILATERAL SPATIAL ARM PATTERN

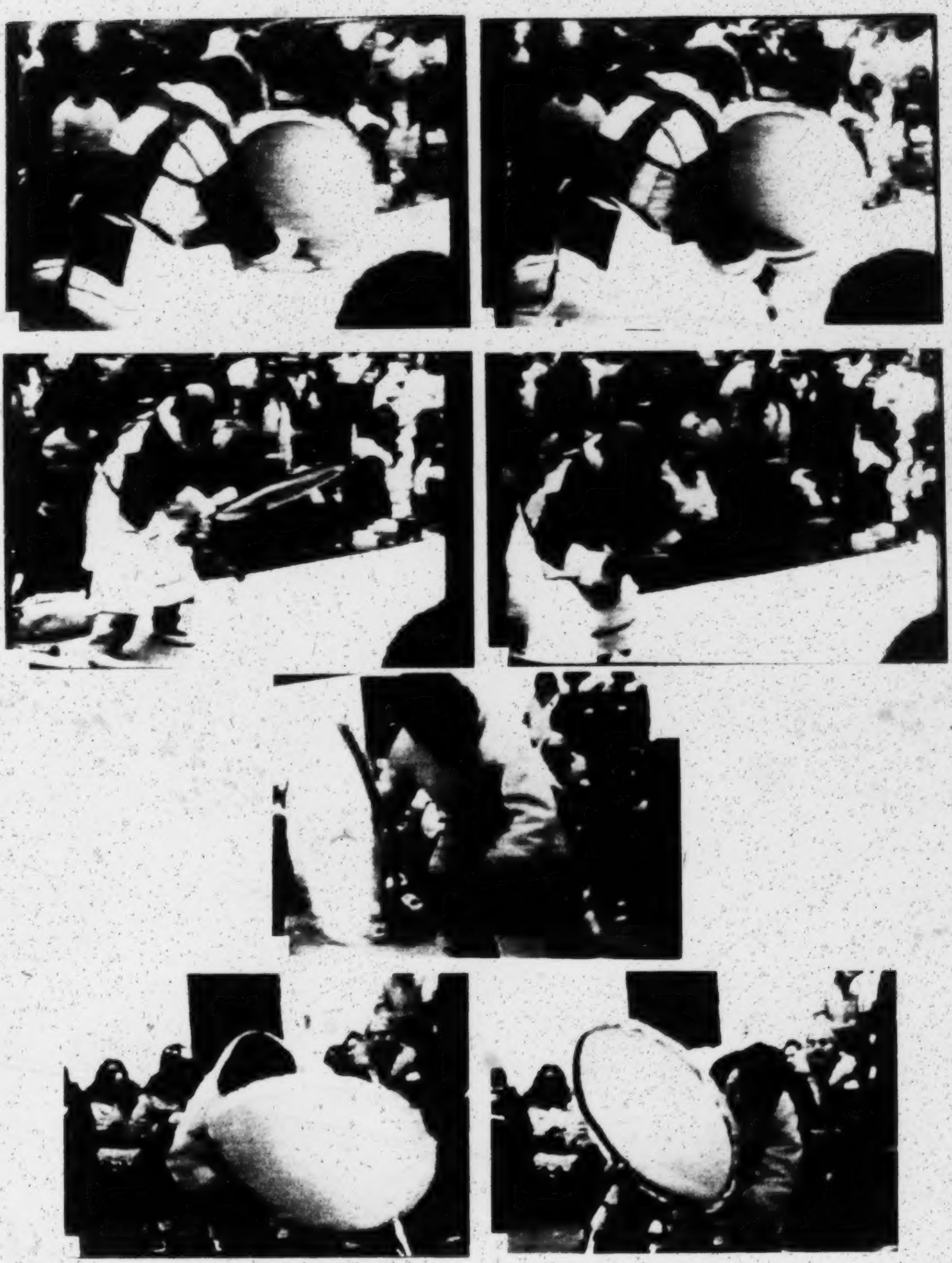
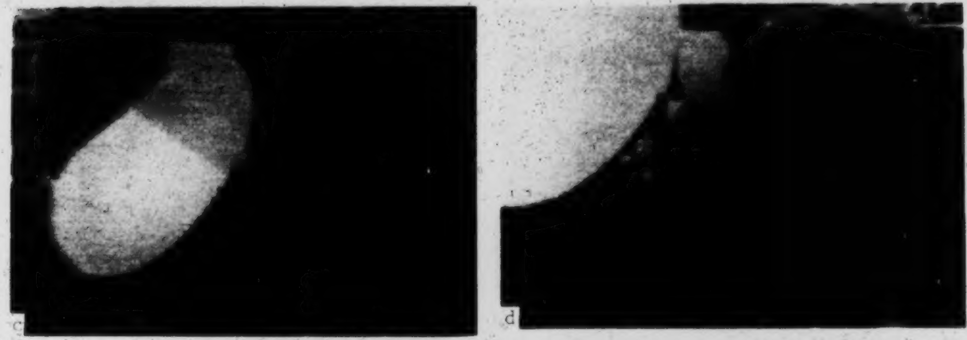


Plate 11. a-h. UNILATERAL SPATIAL ARM PATTERN

The movement is sequenced in a single direction - right.



It is then sequenced left. The intent to create spatial design with the drum

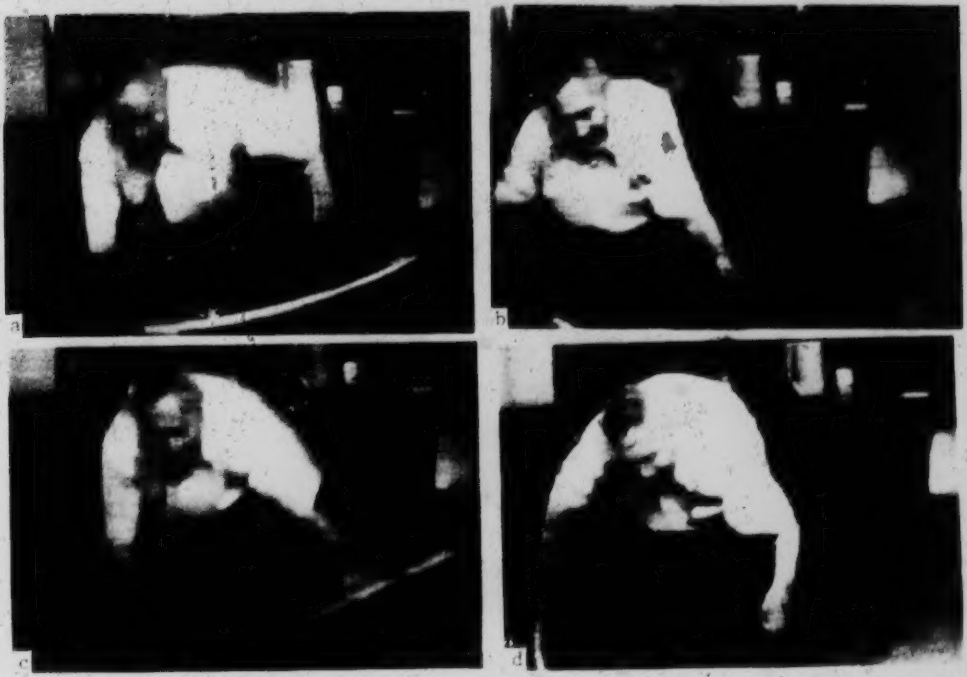
is evidenced by transversing the drum from the horizontal to sagital plane.

The drum is momentarily suspended forward - left.

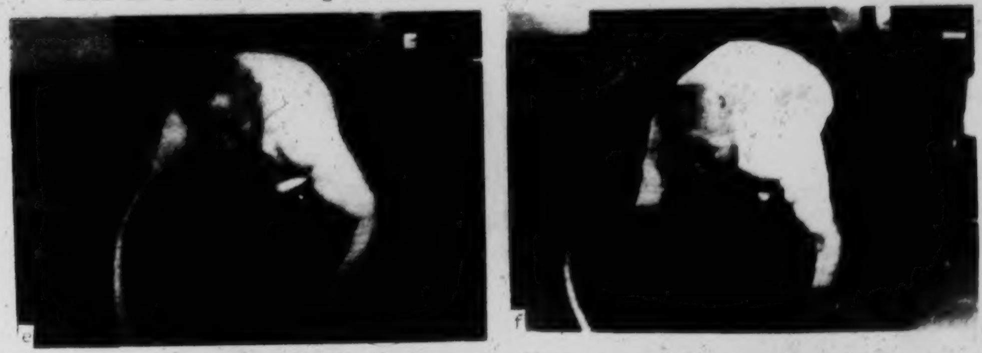
The drum moves downward in steep transversal.

Accordingly, the near rim is caught by the beater hand action.

Plate 12. a-1. PLAYING STYLE OF "LAYING DOWN WITH THE DRUM"



The dancer increases spatial tension by steadily lowering the drum in a self-testing skill.



The drumhead scanning just above the floor

for a suspended period of time.

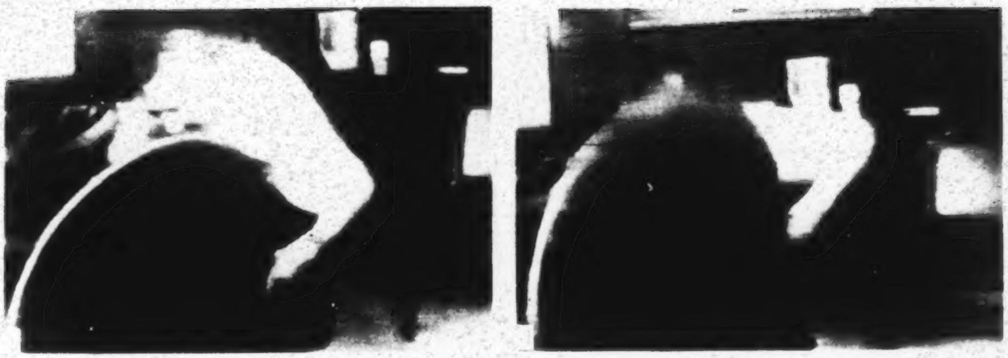


Plate 12 (cont'd). This drum dancer's technique of "laying down with the drum" promotes an image that is not unlike the hunter's technique of hiding behind a small white blind to remain unseen, peering over it every now and then, to creep close to the seals basking on the ice.

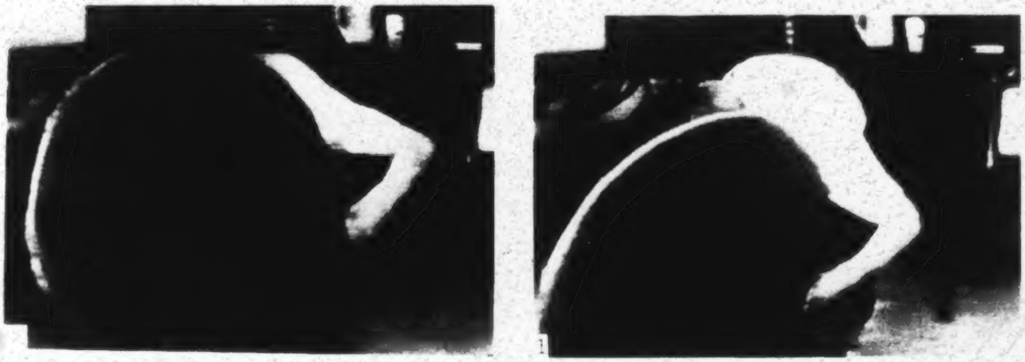
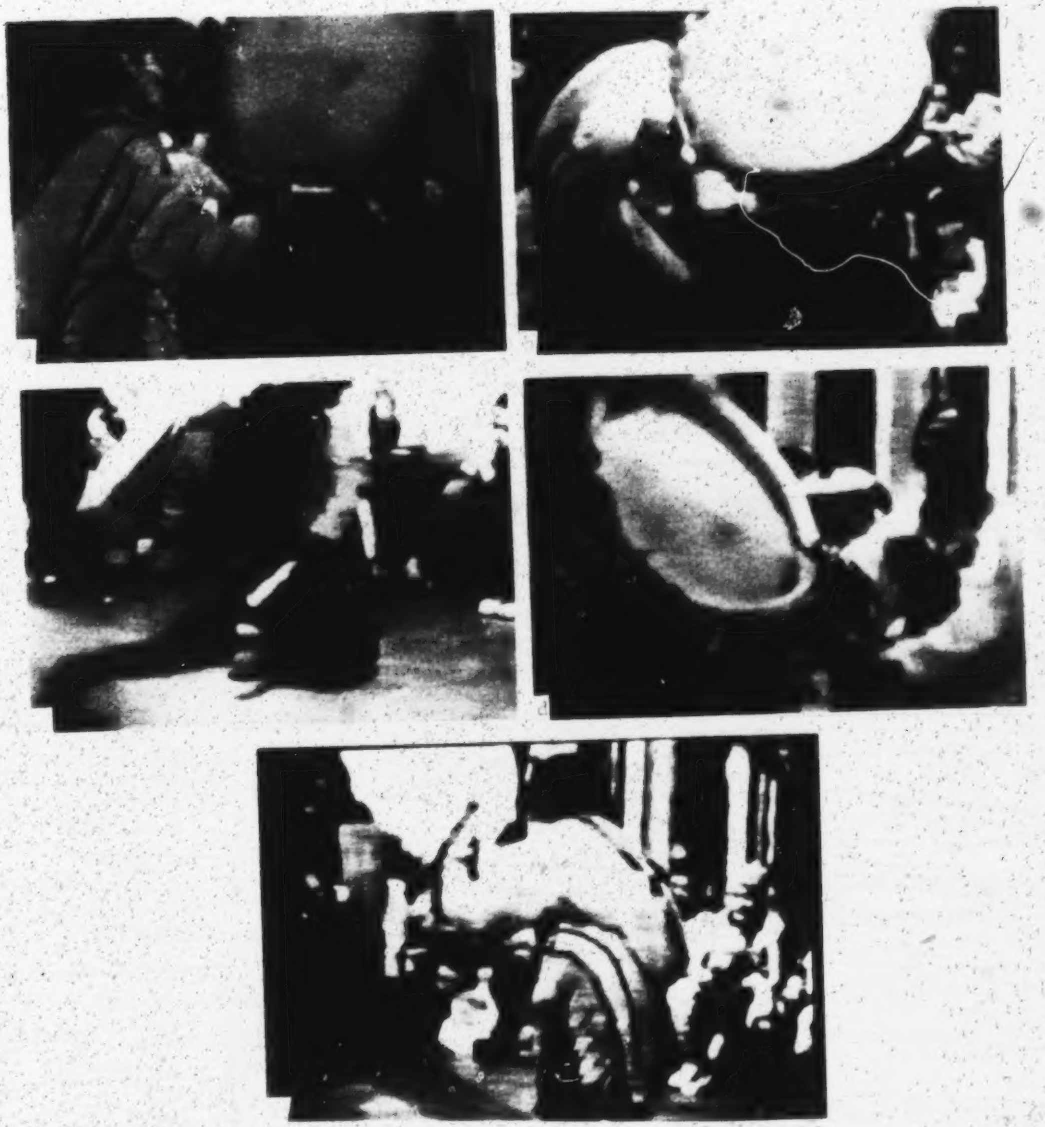


Plate 13. a-e. VARYING THE SPATIAL TENSION TO ACHIEVE A PLAYING STYLE



PART II THE MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

CHAPTER III IDENTIFYING THE PERCEPTUAL/QUALITATIVE ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses upon the dynamic structure of Inuit drum dance, supplementing the previous chapter's discussion of rhythmic space forms with a treatment of rhythmic time. As stated earlier, Laban's theory maintains that all movement is a function of the body's continuous co-occupancy of the two distinct but inextricably linked dimensions of space and time. In the previous chapter, I discussed the drum dancer's movement in terms of the body and its spatial aspects; the directional orientation, its level, shape and size. However, my description of the upper limb actions also illustrated how the primary features of Inuit drum dance emphasize rhythmic spatial qualities.

My inquiry must now turn to the question of how the drum dancer manifests movement in terms of a prescribed expenditure of energy characteristic of Inuit drum dance. My analysis demonstrates how subtle nuances of effort* can articulate a wide range of variation on the basic movement.

Obviously, the sheer range of dynamic variations emphasizes how crucial the weight-time component is to Inuit drum dance. Even if we limit effort analysis to lower limb actions, there remains a tremendous variety of effort combinations associated with the rudimentary repetitive step pattern. In practice, dancers employ a great diversity of controls to articulate single and double supports,** weight shifts (both whole and partial), foot contacts (both full and less***) and steps associated with springing and shuffling-like gestures. However, for analytical purposes, we begin by outlining a quality to step position by describing the drum dancer's typical attention to time and weight factors. Thus by way of introduction, it should be noted that the repetitive step action in Inuit drum dance never occurs at high speed; rather the effort is expended with a strong sense of sustaining. In other words, since sudden action cannot be sustained, abrupt shifts in the centre of gravity are infrequent, the quality of sudden marking an intermittent action or brief phase to the dance.

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[*] The term 'effort' has been assigned both intentional and unintentional connotations. For interpretative assistance see Maletic 1987:99-106.

[**] The weight on one or two feet.

[***] For example, 1/4, 1/2, or the whole foot contacting the floor.

In a basic step pattern every active expenditure of energy is typically balanced by an oppositional phase where energy is absorbed. For the drum dancer this charge-discharge pulse or tension-release principle associated with the feet indicates a particular attitude towards weight that is characterized by a strong downward pull or 'sink' in the step and the strong/weight rebounding into light on the rise. However, in order to understand how the continuum of strong and light (weight) can be used to articulate a specific quality to the step such as heavy, resilient or buoyant, key concepts of Laban's theory must be set forth.

A. THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

By employing a theoretical approach to the dynamic aspect of Inuit drum dance it is possible to outline general categories that characterize the general movement context. However, a classification called dynamic phrasings[*] enables one to grapple more firmly with the dynamic structure since a general expenditure of energy is applied to a specific movement or a series of movements. Moreover, specific effort symbols derived from Laban's effort graph enables distinctive qualities within these phrasings to be isolated. Thus the following theoretical approach serves to familiarize the reader with dynamic structure both in terms of descriptive categories and appropriate notation. Specialists already familiar with how qualitative aspects of the dance are determined by combinations that diminish or exaggerate the "Four Motion Factors" of weight, space, time and flow are encouraged to skip to the next section, B. Qualitative Analysis (p. 157).

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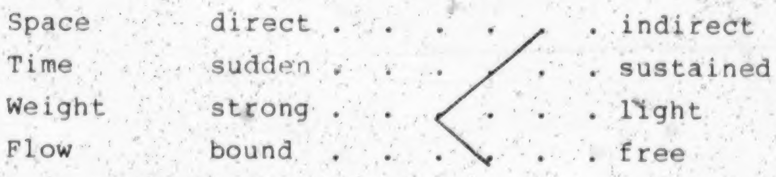
[*] Proposed by Ohio State colleagues Blum (1984) and Maletic (1983).

"The Four Motion Factors"

According to Laban's effort theory, all movement can be charted within the four constituent elements of weight, space, time and flow. Concrete points of reference along a continuum stretched between two extremes serve as graph points, defining the body's attention to weight (strong-light), its orientation in space (direct-indirect), its time (sudden-sustained) and its degree of control over energy flow (bound-free). Since every human action simultaneously demonstrates all four factors, an individual's characteristic effort is determined by the manner in which the constituent elements appear in certain combinations. Similarly, the use of preferred combinations enable particular dance forms to be identified. The following chart illustrates how movement varies in terms of a relationship of interdependence in which the patterns of effort are perceived as "macro structures resulting from idiosyncratic micro structures of effort combinations" (V. Maletic 1987:101).



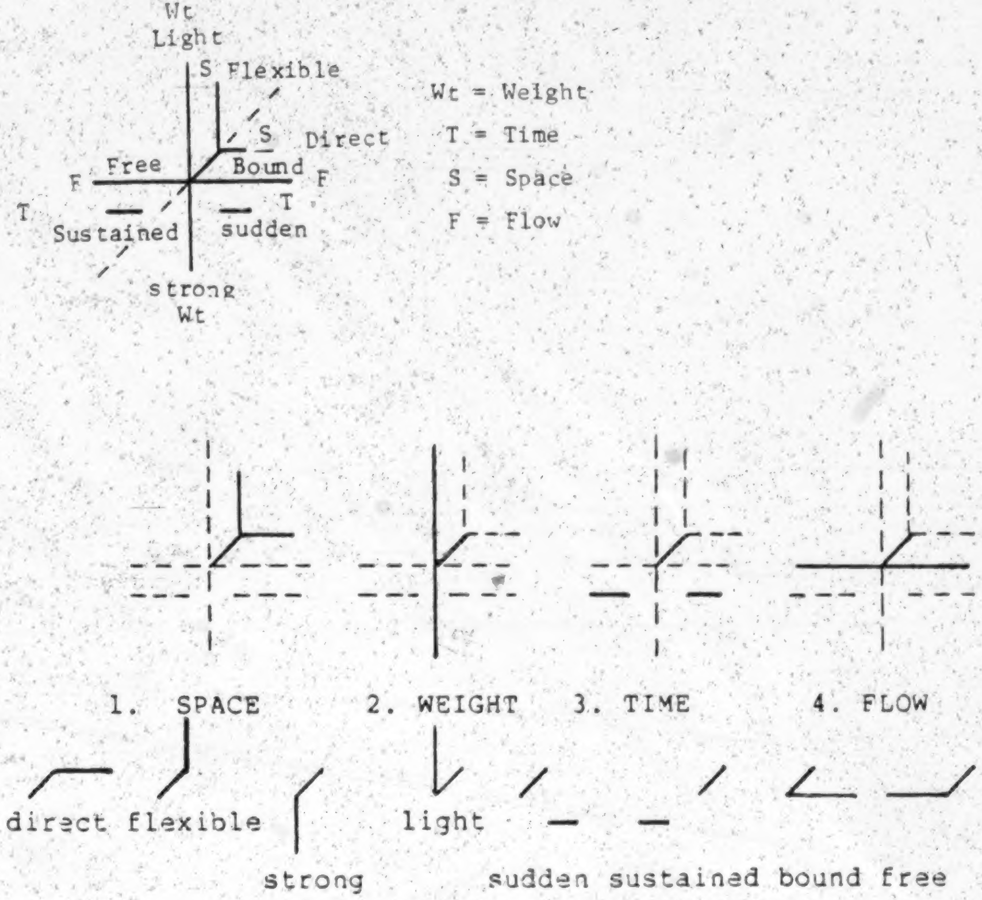
Space	direct	. indirect
Time	sudden	. sustained
Weight	strong	. light
Flow	bound	. free

Moreover, because any single movement is contextually defined by what precedes and follows it, an overall effort principle can be identified with the movement. To explain: since the tendency in any movement orients the body either to the far right or left of the continuum, the movement can be qualified respectively, as complying ("indulging") or resisting ("fighting against") the "Four Motion Factors." Thus the general quality of the movement can be perceived as either docile or rebellious, harmonious or aggressive.

The Effort Graph

Because innumerable effort combinations can arise to indicate this overall movement quality, the following effort graph enables distinctive qualities to be identified.

Figure 3. THE EFFORT GRAPH SYMBOLS (After Laban 1971:84)


Wt
Light
S
Flexible
S
Direct
Free
Bound
F
F
T
T
Sustained
sudden
strong
Wt
Wt = Weight
T = Time
S = Space
F = Flow
1. SPACE
2. WEIGHT
3. TIME
4. FLOW
direct
flexible
strong
light
sudden
sustained
bound
free

Furthermore, since the concept of effort involves both mental and physical components, the motion factors, and their graphic symbols are perceived as indicating a particular attitude by emphasizing a dominant factor. For example, in Laban's framework, the element of weight associates with a consciousness of the body and a latent potency that identifies 'intentions for action'. The element of space is perceived to have the importance of 'attending' since the implication is of organizing spatial relationships within the environment (either real or implied). Timing , predictably so, is associated with decision-making, with an 'intuitive readiness' for purposive action, and the element of flow related to the intentive execution of that purpose through interactive feelings. Taken together the "Four Motion Factors" imply a unity of sensing, thinking, intuiting and feeling.

"State" and "Drive" Conditions*

Theoretically, a single movement factor is rarely stressed. Combinations of two factors represent what Laban terms an incomplete effort or inner attitude. Accordingly, the action translates the movement context into a quality termed a "mood" or "state."** Frequently

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[*] This theoretical classification of movement is discussed by Laban in Mastery of Movement, p. 85-89. For further reference see Dell 1970:36-41 and Maletic 1987:102-104.

[**] There are six states. These include:
The Rhythmic State stressing weight and time.
The Remote State stressing space and flow.
The Awake State stressing space and time.
The Dream State stressing weight and flow.
The Mobile State stressing flow and time.
The Stable State stressing space and weight.
Since each of the six combinations has a potential for four

the movement context involves a more intense expression uniting three factors. This is referred to by theorists as the "Drive Condition."* Because the presence of all four factors represents the maximum intensity, this combination is seldom present.**

B. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Theoretical Categories of Effort

In Laban's theory all movement is characterized by both State and Drive Conditions; the former marked by a reduced, less externalized expenditure of energy. Not surprisingly, the drum dancer's tendency when working in the former condition, represents a rhythmical state stressing the factors of weight and time. This

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variations (i.e., the Dream State as light and free, strong and bound, strong and free, and light and bound), there are 24 distinct qualities associated with incomplete efforts.

*There are four Drive Conditions. These include:
The Action Drive stressing weight, space and time.
The Passion Drive stressing weight, time and flow.
The Vision Drive stressing space, time and flow.
The Spell Drive stressing space, weight and flow.

Because each Drive Condition has a potential for eight variations, there are 32 different qualities associated with the Drive condition.

**An additional 16 distinct variations are possible from the combination of space, weight, time, and flow. Thus, 72 different qualities represent a micro structure.

combination promotes a "near," "earthy" mood. The Awake State (stressing space and time), and the Mobile State (expressing flow and time) are also possible, but less frequent. Conversely, because the element of time is not stressed in the Remote State (stressing space and flow), the Stable State (stressing weight and space), and the Dream state (stressing weight and flow), these conditions are less characteristic of Inuit drum dance style.

Normally, the intense concentration required to fuse body, drum and song promotes the more crystallized exertions characteristic of three-factor combinations. Typically, the movement context changes gradually, one factor at a time, rather than through two or three changed simultaneously or by radically altering the nature of the movement with abruptly changing all four factors. Specifically, the drum dancer's preferred combination of weight, space, and time is referred to as the Action Drive and serves to represent basic efforts. Although a description of 'basic effort actions' includes a range of qualities employing the eight possible combinations of punching, floating, pressing, flicking, gliding, slashing, dabbing, and wringing,* the drum

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*Punch	Float	Press	Flick	Glide	Slash	Dab	Wring
direct	indirect	direct	indirect	direct	indirect	direct	indirect
strong	light	strong	light	light	strong	light	strong
quick	sustain	slow	quick	sustain	quick	quick	slow

dancer's stress upon sustained time and direct space orients the movement context towards qualities of press and glide. Conversely, if the movement emphasizes the strength factor, punch and wring-like qualities may arise.

In addition, a more emotional type of Drive Condition, commonly referred to as the Passion Drive, can be evidenced. This occurs as an intermittent quality and is associated with the non-locomotor phase during which the drum dancer reduces the attention to space. Specifically, the Passion Drive, combining weight, time, and flow, momentarily suspends the factor of space and allows for the predominance of flow. Furthermore, although this drive condition can again represent eight possible combinations,* the drum dancer's tendency is to emphasize strong weight, bound flow and sustained time.

Less frequent, but still possible, is the weightlessness or vision-like drive quality conveying a concern for the factors of space, time and flow.** While the

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*Weight:	light	strong	strong	light	light	light	strong	strong
Flow:	free	free	free	free	bound	bound	bound	bound
Time:	slow	slow	quick	quick	quick	slow	slow	quick

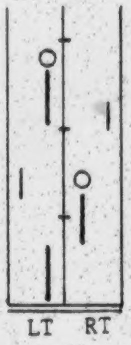
**Space:	indirect	indirect	indirect	indirect	direct	direct	direct	direct
Time:	slow	slow	quick	quick	quick	slow	slow	quick
Flow:	free	bound	bound	free	free	free	bound	bound

continuum of space and flow may vary, the time is characteristically slow or sustained. Finally, because the dancer is a drummer, it is evident that the fourth Drive Condition, characterized by a spell-like or timeless condition, is incompatible with the nature of this dance form.

The Relative Duration of Step Action

The following staff allows for the recording of foot supports and leg gestures. The centre line represents the dancers's spine, enabling a distinction between right and left sides. Accordingly, vertical strokes placed next to the centre line serve to identify the weight support associated with the right and/or left foot. However, if a vertical stroke is placed a distance away from the centre line, it represents a leg gesture. The score is read from the bottom up. While a double bar always occurs at the beginning, a double line at the end indicates the completion of the movement entity.

Figure 4. EXAMPLE OF MOTIF STAFF ILLUSTRATING STEP VARIABILITY



The relative timing of the duple pulse is represented by a small bar across the centre line. Also, an indication of durational time is represented by the length of the vertical action stroke. A hold sign 'o' indicates that the weight is held on the support foot. Fundamentally, the binary pulse of the drum tends to divide the step pattern into two pulses. The following examples serve to illustrate this point as well as provide a few of the variations associated with the drum dancer's locomotor foot rhythm.

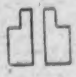
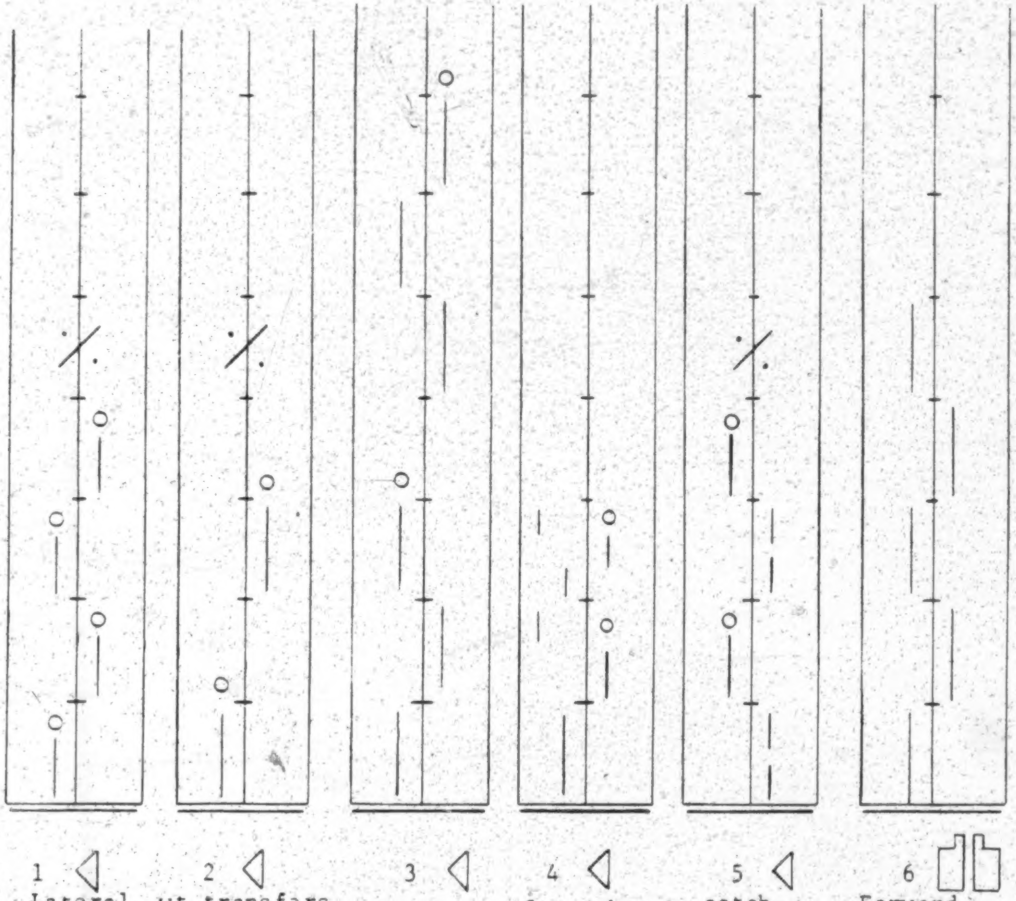
The pre-sign ' ◁ ' indicates that the step action is sideways left. Conversely, the symbol  indicates the forward action of the right and left foot. The repeat sign is represented as ' % '.

Figure 5. MOTIF WRITING: EXAMPLES OF LOCOMOTOR PATTERN (A)



1 Lateral sdw wt transfers

4 2 weight transfers and sdw step gesture = Jig-like step

5 catch-step = (Hop & step)

6 Forward weight transfers: Jog-like step

Two-actioned movement

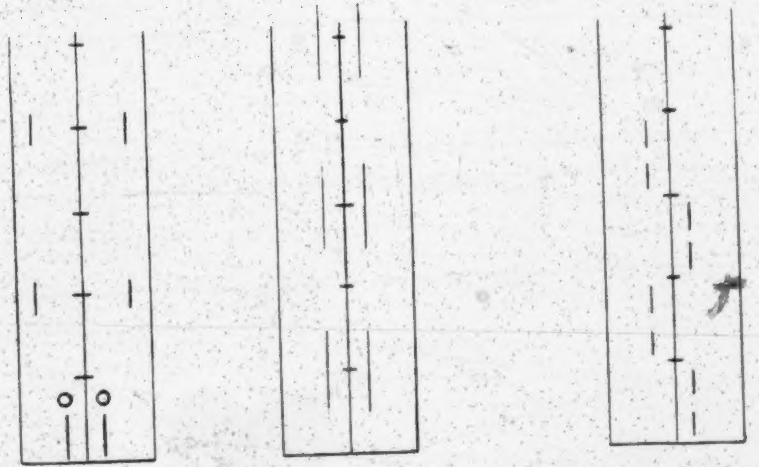
4 Three-actioned movement

5 Three-actioned movement

6 Two-actioned movement

The preceding example of locomotor patterns provide a sampling of how the drum dancer's foot rhythm reinforces or contrasts with the drum's duple pulse. For example, the drum pulse may be reinforced with a step on every beat (see Staff 1 and 6), with a step on every other beat (Staff 2), a step action for three beats followed by a pause (Staff 3), or by contrasting the beat with a foot gesture (Staff 4). If the three-phased action occurs over two counts, an uneven foot rhythm is emphasized. Conversely, if the three-phased action occurs over one count a relatively even but quickened foot rhythm contrasts the drum. Also, an even hop-like/ springing action that doubles, i.e., divides the single beat of the drum, may occur (Staff 5).

Figure 6. MOTIF WRITING: EXAMPLES OF NON-LOCOMOTOR PATTERN (B)



1. Stationary "body bounce"
2. Small jumps in place
3. Small hops on alternate feet

Single actioned Movement = vertical weight transfers

Similarly, the repetitive non-travelling pattern identifies the durations as increased or decreased, and the dynamics of intensity as strong and light, or fast and slow. Specifically, the vertical weight transfers can be associated with a full body bounce, in which the knee flexions are executed on every second pulse, alternately accenting the relatively slow drum pulse (see Staff 1). Also, the small jumps normally accent each pulse as a strong "sink" and a light "rise" (Staff 2), and the small hops "in place" are associated with a quickening of time (Staff 3).

Dynamic Phrasings*

Intensity in Inuit drum dance can also be classified according to the different types of phrasing associated with a series of effort actions. Although the effects of dynamic phrasings are evidenced in other parts of the dancer's body, one can justifiably focus on foot movements here, since in Inuit drum dance the whole body is attuned to the basic step. In this context, symbols derived from Laban's effort graph aid the representation of the distinctive qualities associated with the relatively simple step action.

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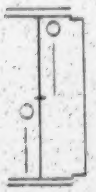
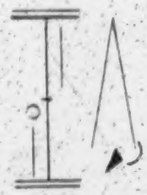
*Maletic (1983:111) explains that the term "phrasing" is substituted for "phrase" because the latter is often associated with a choreographic unit rather than with an expenditure of energy that marks a manner of execution within one or several moments. Although Laban's early terminology referred to "gliding, thrust, fall, and swing," Laban's successors clarified these terms as types of dynamic phrasing with characteristic intensities: even or equal intensity, decreasing or impulsive intensity, increasing or impactive intenstiy, and increasing and decreasing intensity. Recent terminology employed by Blum and Maletic has extended the types of phrasing to include three more, i.e., accented, resilient, and vibratory.

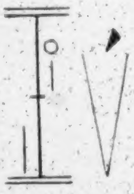
Inuit drum dance employs three main types of phrasing associated with lateral weight transfers sideways. These include even, impulsive, and impactive phrasing, which in graphic form appear as such:



1. Even Phrasing
(Equal Intensity)



2. Impulsive Phrasing
(Decreasing Intensity)



3. Impactive Phrasing
(Increasing Intensity)

1. Even Phrasing   Even phrasing features the same intensity during the two-phased action of lateral transfers sideways, the opening and closing action exhibiting a legato-like quality. Although even phrasing can be associated with "any effort factor or combination except the element of suddenness or its combinations,"[*] in Inuit

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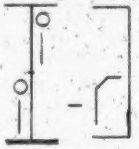
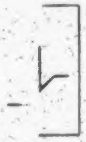
[*] Maletic (1983:115).

drum dance the even quality frequency occurs with the combination of strong weight, direct space, and sustained time. Thus the qualities of press and glide can be figured in this manner:

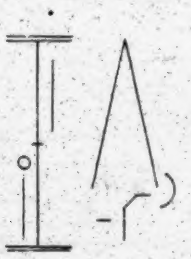

1.i Press

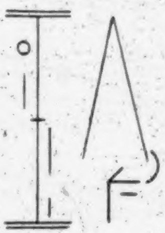
or


ii glide

2. Impulsive Phrasing

In an impulsive phrasing the lateral weight transfers are executed with a strong weight emphasis on the lead leg. This communicates a sense of diminishing energy, to a greater or lesser degree depending on the nature of the trail leg (closing) action. Because the lead leg emphasizes a press quality, this initial strong, direct and sustained step will frequently communicate a sense of momentary hold on the first step. For example:


Example 2 i


Example 2 ii

However, impulsive phrasing may also be associated with the three-phased action exemplifying the hop-step.[*] Although this step action is less common than the lateral weight transfers sideways identifying the two-phased action, the slight springing leftward action on the right foot, i.e., R.R.L.[**] is not an uncommon variant. Specifically, impulsive phrasing entails a relatively sudden intensification of energy in the hop, followed by a diminuation of energy as the right foot settles on the landing and the left leg begins to step left. While the springing hop action at the beginning evidences increased firmness, the varied amount of time given to settle and transfer the weight from the right to the left foot means that innumerable effort qualities may arise. In the preceding symbol (2 ii) the hop is characterized by diminishing energy that emphasizes the initial action as strong weight, bound flow and sudden timing.

3. Impactive Phrasing
The third type of phrasing associated with two-action movements that travel sideways identifies impactive phrasing. In drum dancing this increased

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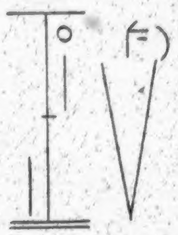
[*] Commonly referred to in Western dance vocabulary as a "catch-step."

[**] Right, right, left.

intensity is usually marked by bursts of energy manifested in short shuffle-like actions of the trail leg. Frequently the closing action is relatively sudden, and is followed by the specific efforts of increased firmness and bound flow. Generally, the latter effort is visible as a momentary weight hold on the trail leg.



Example 3

4. Accented Phrasing[*] Accented phrasing in Inuit drum dance is associated with a jig-like step that represents a three-action sequence comprising two lateral weight transfers and a leg gesture sideways. Although the action many occur relatively on the spot, the momentary pause after the gesture enables the same gesture foot (normally left) to make a continuing clockwise transition beyond where it is touching.

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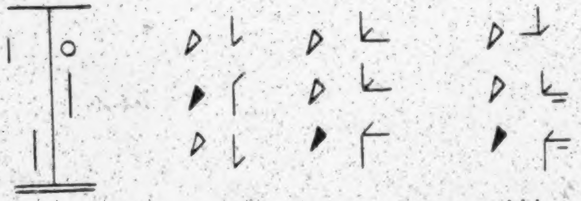
[*] Maletic (1983:114) defines accented phrasing as "a series of accents together that form an entity."

In general, the exertion of energy in the jig-like step associates with a quickening of time in the lateral weight transfers and a shorter or longer stillness associated with the free leg gesture. Whereas the specific quality of the third gesture is lightness, the first and second step can be either strong or light. The weight accent accordingly exemplifies contrasting efforts; for example, a jig step combination of light, strong, light or strong, light, light.** Although a strong, strong light inclination may arise, the tendency to quicken the lateral weight transfers militates against the same consecutive effort quality being repeated on the first two steps. It is also this quality of suddenness that determines its intermittent use. Accented phrasing can also be varied with directness and/or bound flow. In example 4 ii the action is executed with a quality of constant restraint. In Example 4 iii the first two accents are sudden and bound, followed by lightness and free flow.



Example 4 i ii iii

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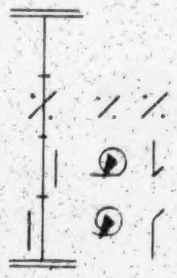
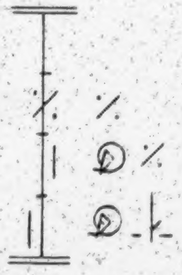
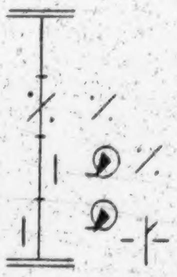
*This latter combination of accented phrasing may also be viewed as a subtle variant of impulsive phrasing.

5. Resilient Phrasing* In Inuit drum dancing, resilient phrasing is associated with a jog-like step. Distinct from accented phrasing it is used here to refer to a repeated exertion of energy that represents four or more steps. Similar to the jig-like step, the jog step normally communicates a sense of quickening time. It is manifested either "on the spot" or employed to travel round on circumference. Accordingly, because it opposes the principle of sustainment, the proportionate use of resilient phrasing in Inuit drum dance is small.

Also in resilient phrasing the weight quality is marked. In Inuit drum dance frequently a repeated even oscillation between strong and light occurs (5 i). A buoyant quality is evident if the rebound emphasizes a transition from strong sustainment into sudden lightness (5 ii). Conversely, a weighty resilience can arise when the strong, sudden "sink" rebounds into light sustainment (5 iii).


Example 5 i


5 ii


5 iii

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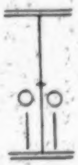
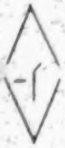
[*] Defined by Blum (1984:3) as a "series of accents, each having a rebound, together forming an entity."

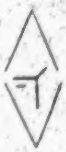
6. Increasing and Decreasing Intensity* In Inuit drum dance this type of phrasing is associated with a non-locomotor stationary body bounce, and/or a slight sideways travelling motion with "heels together - toes together." The phrasing is commonly executed as an increase and decrease in firmness with an emphasis on sustainment (6 i). Not infrequently, a swing-like quality in the phrasing is evidenced when the factor of flow is increased (6 ii).



Example 6



6 i



6 ii

The Compositional Pattern

Although the preceding discussion provides only a sampling of how the dancer's use of energy is constantly changing in relationship to types of phrasing, and how innumerable effort qualities can occur within a single step, it is still fair to conclude from the evidence that in any one dance the dancer will employ only one, two or three predominate phrasing types. In the locomotor phase, lateral weight transfers are frequently characterized by even phrasing which is contrasted with an intensity that is either impulsive or impactive. In the non-locomotor phase, even phrasing usually occurs when the heels of the feet do not lift, and bilateral weight shifts are emphasized in a side to side sway-like action. However, in the non-travelling phase associated with body bounces, i.e., double supports, the predominate phrasing type features increasing and decreasing intensity. The resilient and accented types of phrasings associated with jog-step, hops and jumps, are less frequent. (See Figure 7 for a summary of Basic Types of Dynamic Phrasing).

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*An intensification of effort that then decreases. "Although the clearest example of this is a swing, the movement does not have to be swing-like" (Blum 1984:3). It can be performed and described with a change in any effort element or combination.

CONCLUSION

In summary, this chapter on qualitative analysis has attempted to outline how the movement context of Inuit drum dance can be described from either general effort categories called "State" and "Drive" conditions (see Table 8), or more specifically, how the lower limbs emphasize a dynamic rhythm related to the relative duration of step actions and a preferred use of energy associated with certain types of phrasing (Table 9). These considerations have enabled us to affirm K.

Rasmussen's statement (1929:240) that the drum dancer "suits the movements of his body to the steadily increasing force of the chorus," and to clarify the ethnomusicologist J. Nattiez's remark (1979:5) that, in order to avoid fatigue, "the movement of the feet must be synchronized with the striking of the drum." In brief, we can perceive how a relatively simple structure can be accompanied by a wide range of effort changes, and how the drum dancer seeks to stress the rhythmic principles of repetition, duration and dynamic intensity.

Table 8. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF INUIT DRUM DANCE:

IDENTIFYING THE EFFORT CATEGORY

as "STATE" and "DRIVE CONDITIONS"

1. THE "STATE" CONDITIONS:

a. Rhythmical Near State = weight and time
b. Awake State = space and time
c. Mobile State = flow and time

Normally absent:

d. Remote State = space and flow
e. Dream State = weight and flow
f. Stable State = space and weight

2. THE "DRIVE" CONDITIONS:

a. Active Drive = Weight, Space and Time

Basic efforts = two primary qualities press and glide
Qualities of punch, float, dab and wring can arise.
Absent - flick and slash

b. Passion Drive (spaceless) = Weight, Time and Flow associated with non-locomotor

Distinctive Qualities = tendency to emphasize strong weight, bound-flow and sustained time

c. Vision Drive (weightless) = Space, Time and Flow

Distinctive Qualitities = tendency to emphasize sustained time

Normally absent:

d. Spell Drive (timeless) = tendency to emphasize weight, space and flow

Table 9.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF INUIT DRUM DANCE IDENTIFYING THE EFFORT CATEGORY AS RHYTHMIC PRINCIPLES, BASIC STEP ACTION, AND TYPES OF DYNAMIC PHRASINGS

THE INUIT DRUM DANCER'S RHYTHMIC PRINCIPLES	BASIC STEP ACTIONS	PREDOMINANT TYPES OF DYNAMIC PHRASING
- Duple Drum Pulse	Travelling: - lateral weight transfers sideways (2-phased action, i.e. "step-together")	- even intensity phrasing - impulsive " - impactive "
- Durational Organization Expansion & Contraction	- "catch-step" = hop and step (3-phased action, i.e. Rt Rt Lt clockwise)	- impulsive "
- Lateral weight transfers accenting - every beat - every other beat - third beat - fourth beat	- jig-like step (3-phased action) - jog-like step (2-phased action)	- accented " - resilient "
- Dynamics of Intensity -strong and light (loud and soft) -fast and slow (pace increased-decreased)	Non-Travelling: - body-bounce (single phased action) - bilateral weight shifts (2-phased action) - jig-like step (3-phased action) - jog-like step (2-phased action)	- increasing & decreasing intensity " - even intensity " - accented " - resilient "

PATTERN ORGANIZATION
(A Selection of Emphasis)

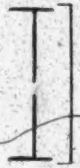
Within the Rhythmic Principles	Combining Travelling and Non-travelling Pattern	With Types of Dynamic Phrasing

For example: A *Travelling* Pattern employing Even Phrasing contrasted with Impulsive or Impactive Phrasing. A *Non-travelling* Pattern employing Even or Increasing and Decreasing Intensity with intermittent type phrasing associated with Accented or Resilient Phrasings.

Figure 7.

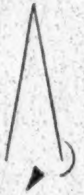
NOTATION CHART FOR BASIC TYPES OF DYNAMIC PHRASINGS

EVEN PHRASING



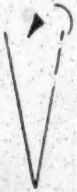
= An even phrasing which maintains the same intensity.

IMPULSIVE PHRASING



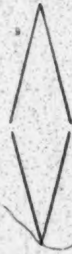
= Decreasing intensity: the energy diminishing from a sudden outburst.

IMPACTIVE PHRASING



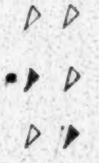
= Increasing intensity: the energy building up to a strong accent.

INCREASING AND DECREASING INTENSITY



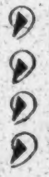
= Increasing and decreasing intensity where the intensity builds up in the middle.

ACCENTED PHRASING

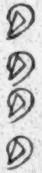


= A series of accents together: the phrasing implies an exertion of energy which can be repeated, the action followed by a shorter or longer stillness.

RESILIENT PHRASING



= A series of several rebounds in which the weight orientates towards strength.



= A series of several rebounds in which the weight orientates towards lightness/buoyancy.

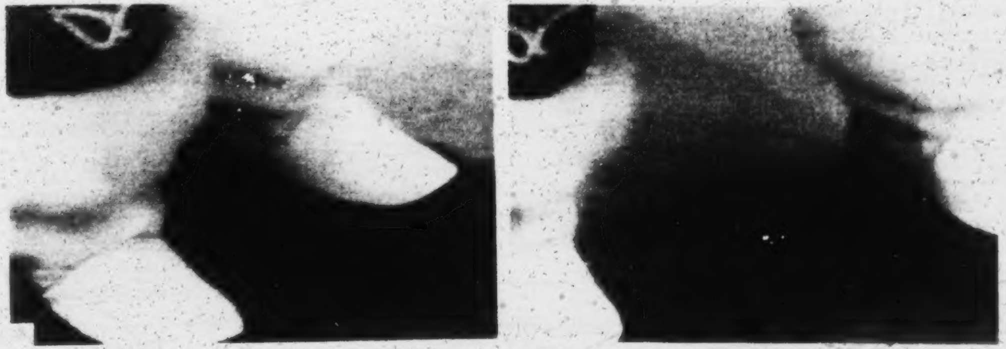


Plate 14. a,b. LATERAL WEIGHT TRANSFER SIDEWAYS

A Copper woman illustrates lateral weight transfers sideways, i.e. "step-together." The second parallel position is approximately 12 inches wide.

Plate 15. STEPPING INTO A WIDE SECOND PARALLEL POSITION

An Igloolik man's lateral weight transfer illustrating a wide second parallel position, i.e., opening and widening step action over a foot in width.

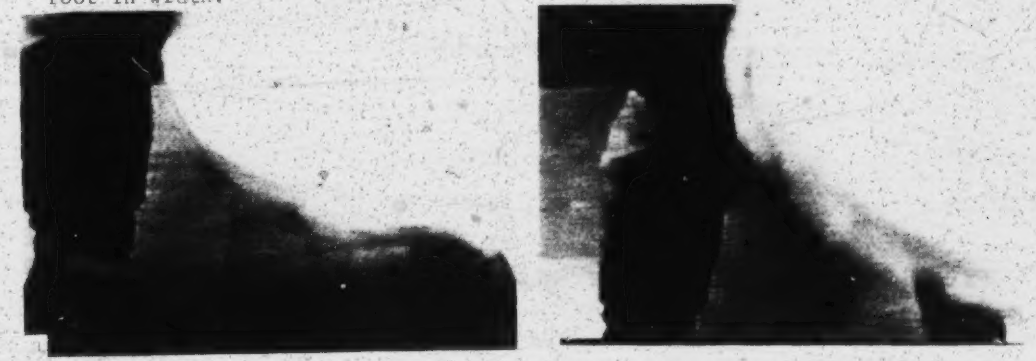
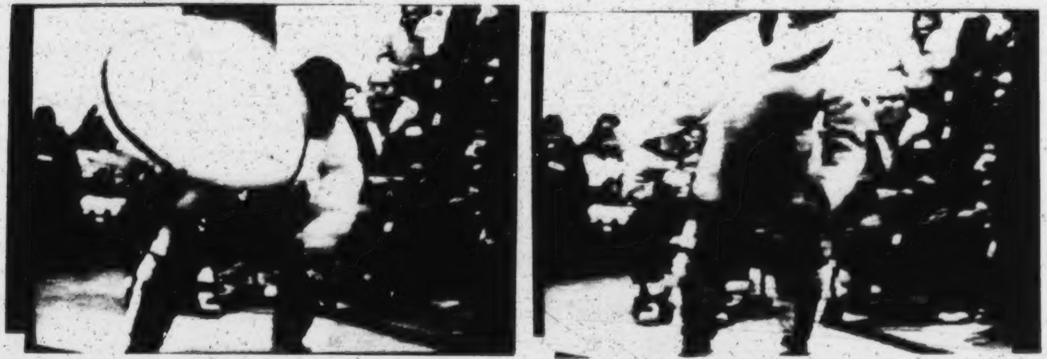


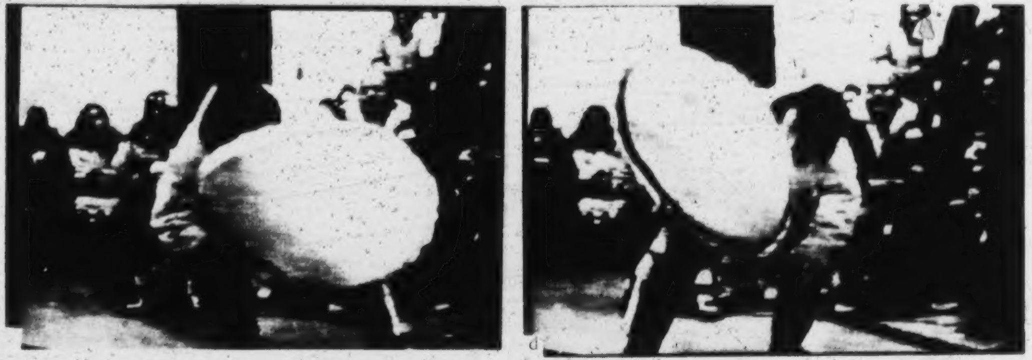
Plate 16. a,b. LATERAL WEIGHT TRANSFERS ON THE SPOT

An Eskimo Point dancer illustrates bilateral weight transfers in an open parallel position. Even-phrasing is associated with this non-travelling activity.

Plate 17, a-f: SPLIT-LEVEL LUNGE POSITION



A Pelly Bay drum dancer illustrates how bilateral weight transfers



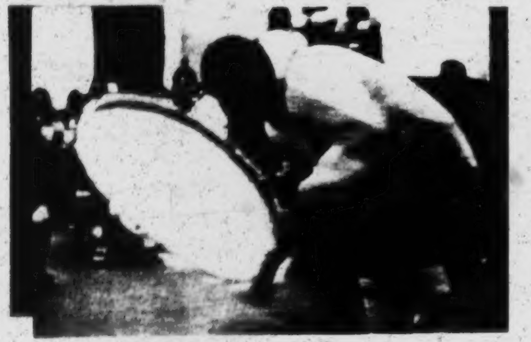
emphasize sustainment by shifting the weight into a split-level lunge position on every second or fourth drum beat.

A sense of lightness and sustainment is also associated with

Plate 17 (cont'd)

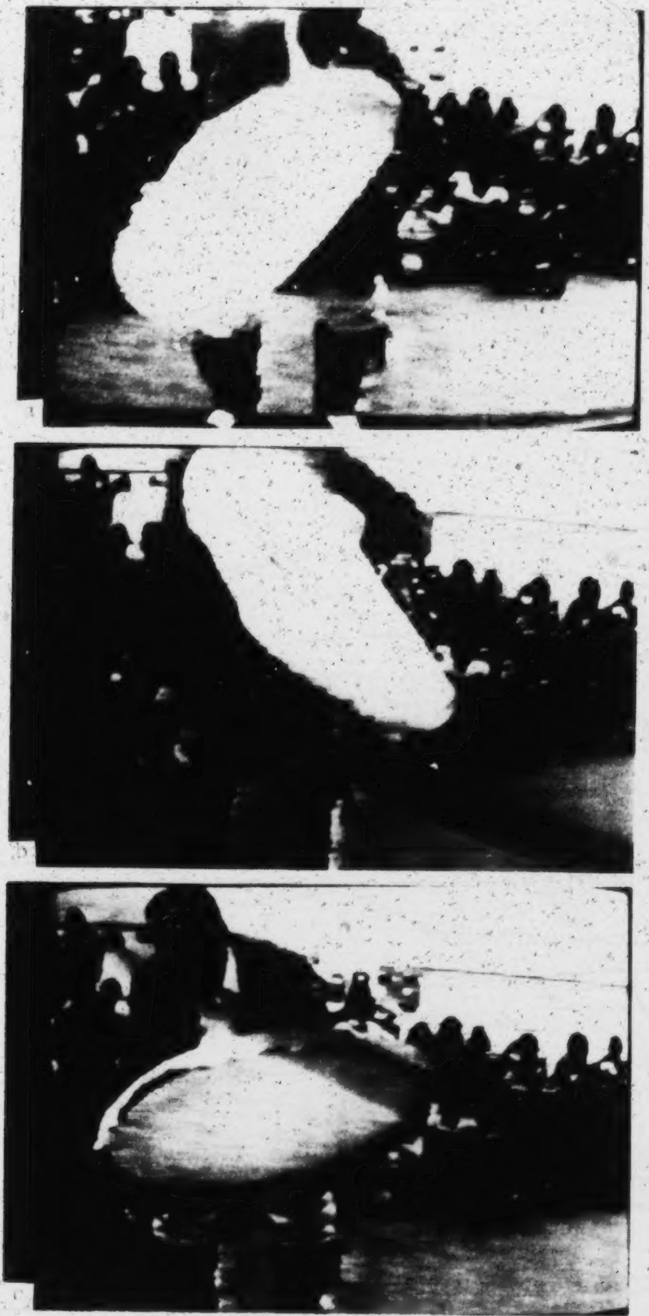
lifting the centre of gravity. A glide-like quality (of slow/time,

light/weight) and direct space is promoted with the sliding



free leg gesture.

Plate 18. a-c. THE "BODY BOUNCE" ACTION



A Rankin Inlet drum dancer illustrates the "body-bounce" action on double supports. The non-tavelling activity is associated with a type of phrasing that identifies increasing and decreasing intensity.

PART III

ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE

PART III ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

To answer the question 'what makes the drum dance happen?' we must eventually examine the individual motivations of individual performers. However, since these motivations are always informed by a consensus understanding of what a drum dance is and since any perfomance is realized according to a set of group norms identifying settings and procedures, the primary question we must consider is 'what are these socio-cultural norms?' Accordingly, my intention is to analyze the normative structure of drum dance occasion. But before we proceed in this direction, a preliminary question must also be asked. What are the relevant concepts that inform the norms of the occasion structure? In other words, what are the relevant cultural traditions that link drum dance experience to the traditional experience of Inuit? Thus, inquiry is directed to background dimensions; the phenomenon of drum dancing situated within its broad traditions.

In my attempt to clarify the general ideology behind drum dance occasion I begin with a religio-historical perspective. This includes a discussion of ancestral beginnings, the traditional world view of Inuit and concepts associated with shamanism and animism. Then, shifting focus, I examine the complementary socio-historical perspective. Thus the ideology is, also, examined in reference to Inuit social structure. Specifically, the latter discussion focuses upon the importance of alliances formed by dancing partnerships: the drum dance customarily employed as a binding mechanism to supplement the primary kinship systems.

The ultimate aim of examining the past is, of course, to understand the present. So, although a variety of Inuit beliefs and practices must be recognized, my main purpose here is to provide a sketch of Inuit tradition, the resultant common frame of reference allowing us to situate the drum dance within a broad socio-cultural context. Standard ethnographic sources provide the basis for this chapter.*

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*My account of general Inuit culture draws on such standard sources as A. Balikci, D. Damas, N. Graburn, L. Guemple, G. Rousseliere, and E. Weyer.

PART III ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE

CHAPTER I THE GENERAL CULTURAL BACKGROUND

A. AN INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

> There was once a world before this,
> and in it lived people who were not of
> our tribe. But the pillars of the earth
> collapsed and all were destroyed, and
> the world was emptiness. Then two men
> grew up from a hammock of earth. They
> were born and grown all at once. And
> they wished to have children. A magic
> song changed one of them into a woman,
> and they had children. These were our
> earliest forefathers, and from them
> all the lands were peopled.
>
> (Tuqlik's version of the story of creation, as
> told to Rasmussen, 1929, I:252-253)

This creation myth stresses the significance of song to the Inuit people. Other complementary myths tell of the significance of dance in relation to strange and mysterious events. A Northern Alaska Inuit myth tells of a drum dance where the people danced into the light of morning. As the guests left they all "fell forward on their hands and sprang away on all fours. They were no longer men but had changed into wolves, wolverines, lynxes, silver foxes, red foxes, - in fact, all the beasts of the world" (Rasmussen 1932 b:9). Another myth relates the story of a young girl who during a drum dance flees an incestuous relationship with her brother. In the course of her flight and his pursuit, she becomes the sun and he becomes the distanced moon (see Appendix VI:1). Also Freuchen (1961:193) relates that in Inuit mythology the aurora borealis represents the "souls of dead-born children who dance and play football with their umbilical cords."

Drum dance rituals are also associated with festivals held to honor the sea goddess Nuliakjuk (or 'Sedna') whose severed finger joints formed the species of sea mammals.* Failure to appease her was dangerous because when offended she mercilessly withheld the sea mammals from the harpoons of the hunters. The anthropologist Carpenter (1973:216-217) relates that in one version of the Sedna myth, after a seance at which a shaman, or Angakok, failed to save a dying person he seeks to eaxercise his powers by travelling on the sound of his drum.

> Sedna's husband (now a dog) blocks the entrance keeping out the living, keeping in the dead; but the Angakok paralyzes it with a chant and enters her strange house

---

*Although her name varies, her supreme power was strongest from Northern Alaska east through Greenland, and was entirely absent as a major feature in West Alaska and amongst the Caribou Eskimo of the Canadian Barren Lands (Graburn 1973:168).

> confronting her directly. First he tries to reason with her, arguing that she has taken a life without cause. But she ignores him. He begs for pity, but she laughs. In anger, he twists her arm and beats her with a walrus pelvis bone. But she is not afraid. Then he becomes cunnning and appeals to her vanity by combing out her tangled hair. But she is unrelenting. Finally, ignoring her altogether, he steps back and, with drum held high, sings of life. Sedna is sometimes so touched by his song, so moved by his singing, she releases the soul of the dead person, and the Angakok returns with it to the land of the living.

Although some mythical tales are pertinent simply because the song/dance appears within them as a medium of transformational change, their full meaning can only be appreciated when they are viewed within the socio-hitorical dynamics of a cultural schema in which the dance is understood as an integral part of a process which generates and maintains traditional Inuit values. However, before examining these values it is necessary to situate the mythical past within the context of Inuit histories and culture.

Ancestral Beginnings

Ancestral Inuit are defined by the anthropologist R. McGhee (1978:3) as a people who spoke a dialect or dialects of the Inuktitut language and who were ancestors of the present Inuit of Arctic Canada and Greenland.

Other Eskimo peoples living in West Alaska, South Alaska, and Siberia speak other related Eskimo languages and "do not think of themselves as Inuit."

Crossing the Bering Sea to Alaska at some time between 10,000 and 4,000 years ago, they adapted to a new way of earning a living from the rich marine resources of the Bering Sea. Somewhere around 1000 A.D., when the Northern world was significantly warmer, the Arctic Sea level rose. leading to an increase in the sea mammal populations and an expansion of their ranges. Groups of efficient hunters moved eastward, following the herds across the open waters of the post-glacial Arctic Seas. These immigrants were generally referred to as the Thule people* and are the ancestors of the present day Inuit.

Adapting themselves to different Arctic ecosystems (marine, terrestrial or freshwater subsistence) distinct groups of Inuit formed and defined themselves by developing a wide range of survival strategies, customs, and beliefs. Still, their common ancestry (from around the Bering Strait), their interactive patterns of migration, and the frequent contact between the distinct groups, provided a common body of customs that, although amorphous, can be defined as Inuit "tradition."

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*The Thule culture is defined on the basis of artifacts and inferred ecological adaptation that developed around "the 10th century A.D. in North Alaska and then spread east as far as Greenland and west and then south past the Bering Straits" (Arima 1976:31).

The Traditional World View

The rich oral history of the Inuit is based on a cosmology composed of paired opposites: humans and animals, male and female, light and dark, land and sea. Although dialectical tensions play a normative role in all societies, theorists* believe that the strong influence of specific material conditions heightened these dualities in the intellectual and spiritual life of the Inuit. The Inuit conception of identity, therefore, is founded in categories which are constituted by simultaneously separated and fused entities. Thus, traditionally, the hunt, dance and song, tools, clothes, and rules of life were all seen as categorically distinct but commonly generated by paired opposites.

At a more fundamental level, Inuit cosmology makes little distinction between the supernatural and natural domains. In a world where human deities reigned and a "person could become an animal and the animal become a human being" (Rasmussen 1931:208), the ultimate concern was to preserve a harmonious relationship with the spirit world. Not surprisingly, traditional drum dance was rooted in religious ritual; the dance a manifestation of many systems of belief about a universe and of man's relationship to it.* Specifically, at its deepest, most mysterious level, the drum dance is related to shamanistic practices and animistic beliefs.**

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*Marcel Mauss' classic analysis of the Inuit world view (1904) identifies the major dichotomy between summer life on the land and winter life on the sea. The dichotomy represents itself in a set of rules which aims to divide sea and land activities. Graburn (1973:140) describes the Inuit as an "edge people whose lives have been arranged around land and sea, winter and summer, and domestic technologies." He also provides an insightful consideration into dualistic symbolism (1973:151-152). Similarly, Saladin d'Anglure discusses male/feamle imagery in Inuit intellectual and spiritual culture (Driscoll 1987:171-172).

B. THE RELIGIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Shamanism

Broadly speaking, in traditional Inuit society each individual was responsible for maintaining his or her own relationship with the spirit world. The struggle to achieve a balance between the supernatural and the natural world promoted the creation of magic songs, words, amulets, and strict taboos. In times of crisis, however, individuals generally banded together to seek the shaman's special intermediary role.

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*The body is a form of human power and is associated with basic life functions, such as birth. life, death, pain, pleasures, fear, guilt. Birket-Smith (1959:162) maintains that traditional Inuit religion stemmed from feelings of wonder, fear, and personal impotence in the face of overwhelming surrounding powers. See Lange (1975:61-63) and Hanna (1988:40-43) for a discussion of dance ritual as a medium for expressing and ordering experience; the potency of the dance linked to the dancer using his own body to explain and control phenomena.

**As defined by E. Tylor (1898:371), animism is an elemental form of religion or spirit worship. Graburn (1973:166) defines animism as a "belief that people, animals and inanimate objects, and the world in general, are populated by spiritual souls."

The extent to which the shaman's role is related to drum dancing remains unclear. Nattiez (1979:6) suggests that in New Quebec the reason the Moravian missionaries strongly forbade the drum dance occasion was because the event was closely tied to shamanism. Conversely, in the Iglulik region, he sees at best a minimal connection between shamanism and drum dancing because there the indigenous song categorization separates drum dance songs from shaman songs.*

Thus, according to Nattiez's interpretation, the drum dance and the seance can fairly be regarded as separate events. However, Cavanagh (1982:31, relying on reports from Jenness and Rasmussen) states that "apparently Copper and Iglulik drum dances frequently ended in a seance." Accordingly, records show that drum dancing could be combined within a greater ceremonial context; the total complex of the evening entertainment frequently combining song/dance with seance and/or games. Whatever the connection between drum dance and shamanism, it should be acknowledged that if the shaman chose to demonstrate his leadership skill through dance a powerful performance was guaranteed. As Jenness records (1959:599), "medicine men often gave weird performances, not to relieve distress but simply to maintain their prestige and entertain their audiences."

---

*He ascribes the restrictive measures against drum dancing in the Iglulik area to the combative influence of an Anglican leader who was himself an Inuk (circa 1920).

In the Iglulik region, the shaman achieved illumination not only through instruction received from another shaman but also through "techniques in awareness" achieved by heightening kinesthetic sensitivity. An informant explained to Rasmussen (1929:114) that a shaman was "able to see himself as a skeleton ... by thought alone he divests his body of its flesh and blood so that nothing remains but the bones."

In addition, the shaman's drum was viewed as more than the sum of its material properties. As a spiritual object, the drum (Qilaut), enabled the shaman to perform various significant social functions.

> They must be physicians, curing the sick, (and) meterologists, not only able to forecast the weather, but also to ensure fine weather. This is effected by travelling up to Sila (the spirit force that controlled the environment). They must be able to go down to Iakanakapsaluk (Nuligjuk) to fetch game ... They must be able to visit the land of the dead under the sea or up in the sky in order to look for lost or stolen souls ... Finally, every great shaman must ... exercise his art in a miraculous fashion in order to astonish the people and convince them of the sacred and inexplicable power of the shaman. (Rasmussen 1929:109)

The shaman's performance skill was synonymous with his de facto leadership. His magical ability to manipulate the drum is reported in a Greenland seance at which the drum was said to rise vertically until it circled of its own momentum over the heads of the people gathered in the house (R. Gessain and P. E. Victor 1973:154-155).* Floating in the air in a horizontal position, it oscillated around its own axis, "rolling like a boat, and a beat can be heard."

The Traditional Belief in Souls

In addition to considering the drum dance in association with shamanistic practices, we should also examine how a belief in the plurality of souls influenced the drum dance occasion and the dance form in general.

In traditional Inuit society, "all that exists has a soul or can have one" (Rousseliere 1984:441). Furthermore, the soul of an individual consisted of at least three souls: the body, the breath, and the name soul. Because the soul of an animal was not unlike a human soul it could enter the body of a new-born child. As Rasmussen (1929:56) was told, appeasement was a common and necessary ritual since the greatest peril was entailed in the fact that "all our food consists entirely of souls."

When a person died the breath soul left the body. However, the departed soul moved in the vicinity of the corpse for an indefinite period, and when offended turned against the living. During periods of mourning, lasting three, four, or five days, different systems of taboos sought to guard the mourner from exposing himself to the departed ghost (Weyer 1969:270-183). Thus, in both the Eastern and Western Arctic, occurrences of song and dance which might invite the spirits of the dead to join the living were prohibited during periods of mourning.*

---

*Translated from French by University of Saskatchewan professor David Edney.

Traditional animistic beliefs not only influenced social behavior by defining appropriate times for the drum dance, they also influenced the perception of the body by defining ritual dance in terms of an expressive physical vitality. In other words, the traditional Inuit concept of the soul linked the body to cosmic elements and made it a metaphor for powerful spiritual forces. The anthropologist T. Correll (1976:178) reminds us that a person's life is spoken of as inusiq and it is through the body that inusiq finds expression.** Accordingly, the dance form was valued for its corporeal nature. In other words, the body is concretely 'there' in the dance, rather than any attempt to abstract its physicality.

---

*Mourning observances are not to be confused with memorial observances. In the latter, the process of time has ameliorated the fear of the dead. In the Central Arctic informal ceremonies, such as depositing food and clothing or singing a song at the grave, honored the dead. In the Western Arctic, particularly in Alaska, the dead were often commemorated with elaborate ceremony; for example, potlach, the Feast for the Dead, the Bladder Festival, and Inviting-in Feast.

**It is interesting to mote that Inuit terminology expresses emotions as physical responses; for example, anger is expressed as "loosening bowels; fear - tightening sinews; joy - floating viscera" (Carpenter 1973:53).

Thus, for the traditional Inuit, the soul is an energy source conveying a kinetic vitality associated with a traditional lifestyle. This is specifically illustrated with either an uncanny sensory-motor awareness or x-ray vision that locates the source of energy within a specific joint or part of the body. Accordingly, the body-soul was traditionally described as relatively small; "about an inch long" (Baffin Island), or "no bigger than a finger or hand" (Greenland - Weyer 1969:291). For the Iglulik, the body-soul was "situated in a bubble of air in the groin; from it proceeds appearances, thoughts, strength, and life" (Weyer 1969: 290).* For other Inuit groups, parts of the body and particularly the joints were thought to be inhabited by souls, or inua, a term which literally means "its person."** In general, therefore, the traditional concept of the soul identified it with human qualities, especially those active qualities synonymous with the appearance of a human being (Weyer 1969:290). Not surprisingly, it is these material, energetic qualities which are valued in the drum dance; a sharp contrast with the light and ethereal qualities valued in most Western dance forms.

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*It was also believed that Inua not only inhabited human beings but animals and insignificant objects as well. The loss of energy of these spirits might lead to illness and disaster (Graburn 1973: 167).

**As an aside, it might be noted that the traditional observational skill capable of encouraging shaman-like flights is not unlike modern awareness techniques that aim to increase kinesthetic sensitivity by targeting specific parts of the body. For example, techniques developed by L. Sweigard, M. Feldenkrais, and F. Alexander.

In addition, the traditional Inuit concept of the name soul implied that although corporeal existence and all those human attributes based on physical strength were important, they were, in themselves, insufficient.* The complete essence of a human being was constituted not only by the body and the breath but also by the name which established a connection between the soul and the person. More explicitly, the name provided the individual with a shared identity or the image of a remembered personality. Thus the individual was endowed with all the physical, intellectual, and moral traits, as well as the skills and abilities of the name's previous owner or owners (Briggs 1970:37). The Inuit more succinctly describe an individual's relationship to these significant others in terms of saunik or bone. Guemple (1965:469) informs us that through the name each child becomes the bone of "all the persons who have previously possessed the name."

Obviously, the behavioral directives derived from this Inuit notion of shared identity are many and far-reaching. To be given the name of an adult, either living or dead, implied that the child received a wisdom spirit or quality of adultness; an isumua which conferred respect and integrity. This concept of acquiring ancestral traits promoted a nourishing attitude; the belief encouraging tolerant behavior, reciprocity, and autonomy. Concomitantly, behavior related to anger or bragging was discouraged.

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*Inuit mythology describes the former ancestral inhabitants, the Tunits, as exceptionally strong but rather stupid.

As V. Alia (1985:418) notes, names and personal nouns are "genderless in Inukitut [and] there are no titles to indicate status or class." From this it is apparent that the Inuit developed a society of generalists rather than a hierarchial system of specialists. As explained to Alia by a Baffin Island Inuit, "we call you as you are" (Alia 1985:418). This significant statement implies both the immediate manner of naming and the circumstantial and variable nature of the name itself. Thus, the practice of naming entails the concept of an individual developing potential.*

In keeping with the generalist nature of Inuit society, there are no professional dancers or dancing teachers. Rather the individual performer engages in the dance making process in the same way that he engages in all other activities. His purpose is to fulfill the demands inherent in his name. But since the ultimate aim of Inuit dance is "to have our own style, to express something of ourself" (Paul Apak, Igloolik, 1986), the individual also aspires to a level of formal mastery and the concomitant right to express something special, something distinctive yet consistent with the tradition.

---

*Honigman (1965:232) relates that the "Eskimo view the present as changing. Life is a matter of becoming, not a case of things remaining unalterably fixed."

The belief in name souls not only promotes certain basic cooperation attitudes, but also, perhaps paradoxically, explains the signifiicance of the dancer's idiosyncratic breath shouts. Informants consistently relate that the "good dancer" utters characteristic individual cries, and Jenness (1922:224) informs us that "wild whoops of joy from the dancer always greet support from the ring." Although enthographers frequently interpret these shout as imitations of animals, it is important to recognize that although these shouts can evoke animal imagery, they can also evoke the name soul. More explicitly, since the name is the reincarnation of a personality, the breath can be viewed as a summoning of the power of the namesake, so that the living soul and the name soul can surge together and more effectively complete this shared task. The belief that energy is recycled through a shared identity is suggested by informants who relate that "breath shouts make the drum lighter" or that as a "dancer shouts out, the breath returns and gives them back their strength again" (Paul Apak, Igloolik, 1986).

C. THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In addition to appreciating the impact of religious beliefs on the drum dance, it is necessary to understand how drum dance traditionally functioned in the social system. Here the focus is upon the role of drum dance in establishing alliances through dance partnerships. By a circuitous route the reader is returned to the creation myth quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Just as song is a source of human relationships in the myth, so song and dance play a significant role in creating the system of social relations. Traditional Inuit society consisted of a system of alliances. In general, the social system included two categories of status, kin and non-kin relations. The ideal was to have a "circle of kinsmen" or a social network that was as extensive as possible (Guemple 1961:49).

The Concept of Kinsmen

The anthropologist L. Guemple's image of three circles of relatives best describes the traditional kinship system. The first circle serves to identify the immediate family and "all consanguineal blood relatives descended from a common grandparent" (Guemple 1961:49). In this unit the primary family responsibility of offering mutual help and support is considered mandatory. In the second circle, associates are transformed into relatives through the acknowledgement of reciprocal ties. Although these quasi-kinsmen might trace a genealogical relationship, they are not regarded as family because they stand outside the three generation horizon. In this unit, the relationship implied not only the duty to offer assistance to maintain and strengthen social ties if and when opportunities arise, but also to augment social relations by visiting, sharing activities, and giving gifts. The third or outer circle includes all other persons who are potential relations. These include kinsmen who might be discovered through (a) established networks, or (b) strangers who might be potentially dangerous or helpful.*

Basically, relations within the traditional social system are conducted on an individual basis. There are no group controls regulating status and relationships. Moreover, "no one is excluded from the circles of kinship providing, of course, that some kind of relation can connect him to the referent" (Guemple 1961:49). The effect of these special relations is not only that the kin supply each other with cooperation and aid, even during difficult times, but also that new relatives can be acquired within the system. The third circle of potential kin or other persons enables a series of strategic exchanges over a wide geographic area, and enhanced opportunities for work, trade, socialization, and recreation.

---

*The latter is usually a skilled expert or a person who has access to strategic locations.

In brief, the traditional system of social relations provides not only 'core' kin (linked by the primary ties established through marriage, betrothal, adoption and naming) but also quasi-kin created by a number of forms of contractual dyadic relations. These latter relationships include the voluntary partnerships associated with spouse exchange, joking relations, boxing, wrestling, and dancing.

The Traditional Concept of Dance Partnerships

Dance partnerships are specifically mentioned by Jenness. He relates that the function of dancing associates was similar to but not necessarily coterminous with spouse exchange, since these two methods of institutionalized relationships assured friendship and enabled "travel from one group to another without danger" (Jenness 1922:187). He records the establishment of a relationship through a dancing ceremony in the Copper area (Jenness 1922:224-225).

> Ikupakhuak was the most influential man in our party, so it was only natural that his wife Higilak should lead off in the dancing. Despite her portly figure, she danced very well and gave a good exhibition of the ordinary pisiq in which she beat the drum herself. She called out her visitor Allikammik to run around her, first in one direction and then in the other, thus making her a 'dancing associate.' Allikammik then returned to the ring again, and the two women ratified their friendship by shaking their noses within an inch of each other.

Although this description gives a typical portrayal of partnerships between persons of the same sex, Jenness also reports the case of a man who established dancing associations with both a man and his wife. Also, Balikci (1970:141) in his study of the Netsilik records a dance partnership between two men. However, he records the ceremony differently:

> The song fellows stood in the middle holding each other by the waist, smiling at the audience and crying, 'hi, hi' as a sign of joy and friendship. They rubbed noses, called each other repeatedly by 'idluarjuga' (my song cousin) and then one of the wives started singing with the refrain repeated by a group of women behind her. Her husband danced in a slow pace, beat the drum and shouted, 'ai, ai, ai.' With the end of the first song, the partners embraced again and the first dancer handed the drum to his song fellow. Then the wife of the second song fellow proceeded with her husband's song. (Balikci 1970:141).

Jenness (1922:87) explains further that although dancing partnerships can develop across tribal boundaries, the tendency was to develop fictive kin relations between bands of the same tribe. Moreover, voluntary relations were more often established between members who habitually lived apart rather than those who frequently gathered together. Damas informs us (1973:48) that although there is a "suggestion of involvement in trading in the case of the Netsilik who met with elements of the Copper Eskimo, there seems to be no clear identity with trading partners." In contrast, Birket-Smith (1929:160) relates that dancing partnerships amongst the Caribou were associated with visiting and trading relations; the performance of song/dance cousins often accompanied with the distribution of gifts. Specifically, he records a dance event where one man "was given a rifle as a present, (the other received) a big woollen blanket."*

The purpose of a community of associates was to supplement the existing kinship system. Accordingly, associates linked by dance lived in different communities. Since the intention of dance partners was to increase potential relatives this meant that ideally close neighbors and persons who were already linked by other kinship factors were excluded. Damas (1973:51) reports that amongst the Central Inuit (the Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik) several individuals might have "as many as seven associates in dancing (and most had) more than one."

---

*In another reference (1959:147) he makes it clear that the exchange of gifts between song cousins does not represent a grand trading feast associated with ceremonial activity widespread in Alaska and the Pacific Coast.

It is important to recognize that in different regions the role of dancing partnerships and other voluntary associations varied significantly. Damas' study of social structure, however, makes it clear that partnerships were more apt to be present when the focus of kinship was derived from the nuclear family rather than the extended family. Amongst the Copper, for example, a cluster of nuclear families implied an individual level of organization. Accordingly, behavioral directives were narrow in scope* and the practice of partnerships was effectively used as a mechanism to promote social cohesiveness.

In contrast, the Netsilik and Iglulik areas were characterized by clusters of extended families. Accordingly, the societal structure was organized by both kinship and voluntary partnerships. In the Iglulik area emphasis upon the extended family implied organization at the band level and an increased concentration of power in the leader or isumataq.* Thus, behavioral directives were broader in scope and derived primarily from kinship factors, i.e., societal strategies related to betrothal, marriage, adoption, spouse exchange, joking and naming. In brief, the integrative role of voluntary dancing partnerships in Iglulik was reduced.

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*The subordination of kinship factors in the Copper area is exemplified by the "use of names rather than kin terms," the absence of kinship obligations in sharing beyond the nuclear family, and the relative dependence of the nuclear family with regard to household organization and sharing (Damas 1966:49).

This contrast, however, should not be exaggerated since the main situations in which partnerships developed in the Central area were spouse exchange, joking, seal sharing, and dancing. These voluntary relations, with the exception of seal sharing, also occurred in Iglulik. Despite the reduced significance of voluntary associations in the Iglulik area, Mathiassen (1928:227) describes drum dancing as "one of the greatest pleasures of the Iglulik." In all three areas examined by Damas, dancing partnerships functioned as a secondary system alongside the kinship system; thus, the primary social significance of drum dancing related to its role in broadening and supplementing kinship ties.

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*In the Iglulik area, the isumataq of the largest kin group in the local settlement was usually designated as isumataq of the whole group (Damas 1968:115).

Moreover, although social bonds may be established in a number of ways, the activity of dancing encourages a number of other cohesive elements. At drum events the mere fact of physical proximity together with the contextual opportunities to share food, engage in shamanistic performances, play games, dance, and sing, all contributed to the creation of significant affective ties.*

The shared activity of singing is most commonly associated with drum dancing. Indeed, although a historical overview can clarify the religious and social concepts relevant to drum dancing, a full understanding requires an awareness of the integral interweaving of song and dance. The following discussion of this complex song/dance idiom introduces the relevant concepts or immediate background necessary for understanding Inuit drum dance occasion.

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*The dance anthropologist P. Spencer (1985:15) relates the "sheer spectacle of the dance" often provides a compulsion that other activities tend to lack. He refers to the activity of dancing as a "whole-hearted communion of joint action, of a sustained coordination of the whole physical being and collection of physical beings."

PART III ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE

CHAPTER II THE RELEVANT CONCEPTS BEHIND THE DRUM DANCE OCCASION

A. THE COMPLEX IDIOM

In Western (Euro-American) societies there is a tendency to analyze experience into distinct categories: to regard singing, dancing and politics as separate entities which may or may not combine in performance. In Inuit society, as in other cultures, dancing and singing are both aspects of a single complex event in which everything (even binary opposites) are conceived of as co-existing, the parts significant only in their relation to the integral whole. Clearly, compared to Western (Euro-American) stereotypes, the subject of dance is being treated differently in Inuit culture.

Since language reflects how a people perceive reality, a brief discussion of Inuit terminology related to song and dance enables us to identify essential concepts. In general, the Inuit language identifies broad generic categories which recognize the properties associated with a particular subject matter. The real meaning of a word, however, is created through infixes which define how it functions in concrete social contexts.*

The terminology investigated by Cavanagh (1982:17) amongst the Netsilik reveals the importance of sound to the Inuit. Specific categories of words are associated with (i) sounds made by humans (*nitja*), (ii) sounds made by both humans and non-humans (*nipli*), and (iii) the lack of any sound (*nipaituq*)). In general, sounds made by humans have a positive connotation, whereas a lack of sound conveys a sense of desolation or of "having no games or stories about which to sing at the drum dance" (Cavanagh 1982:17). The joy of drum dancing is described by Cavanagh as the "joy of communicating through sound" (Cavanagh 1982:17).

Inuit Drum Dance Terminology

Two key terms in the Inuit terminology relevant to drum dancing are *pisiq* and *aijai*. The term *pisiq* (plural *pisit*) refers to a general category of song or singing. In reference to drum dancing the term might best be understood as "songs accompanying drum dance" (Cavanagh 1982:19). Although Jenness (1925) defined *pisiq* as a particular type of drum dance, he appears to have been

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[*] The anthropologist Carpenter (1973:38) states that in the Inuit language there is "little distinction between nouns and verbs, rather all words are forms of the verb to be, which itself is lacking in Eskimo. That is, all words proclaim themselves in their own existence." In short, the language is holophrastic since it builds up compounds by adding suffixes or post bases to the root.

mislead by the Western inability to perceive song and dance as a complex whole. He applies the term pisiq to the Eastern style of dance where the "performer wields the drum himself" (Jenness 1922:10) as distinct from the Western Arctic aton style where the dancer dances free of drum, and accompaniment is provided by a group of seated singer-drummers.*

The term aijai refers to the syllables which constitute the repeated refrain or chorus part of the song, which Nattiez reminds us, are "identical from Greenland to Alaska" (Nattiez 1979:2). Since the wordless refrain appears in lullabies and animal songs as well as in drum dance song, it can be thought of as a common feature of traditional song. Sometimes, therefore, the term aijai is used to refer to the whole collection of traditional songs (Nattiez 1979:2).

In general, today's use of both terms, aijai and pisiq, reflects a strong indigenous tendency to perceive the entire song as a single whole. Although the term aijai originally referred to only the chorus and pisiq only to the text and melody (Rasmussen 1929:227), the use of these terms today indicates that the part continues to be taken for the whole.

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*Jenness (1922:226-227) describes the aton dance as a "wild jig" in which the dancer appears "waving her arms in the air and swinging around on both feet, roughly in time with the music." Cavanagh (1982:19) states that the aton is probably the Alaskan atuutipiaq, defined by Johnston as "dance songs to which dance motions are freely improvised."

Further terms relevant to song and dance include the following:

1. Mumiqpuq - "to dance." This term may apply to any kind of dance, i.e., square, jive, rock'n'roll, but to dance with the Inuit drum is kilaumik mumiqtuq (Cavanagh 1982:19).

2. Mumerneq - "to change about." First noted by Rasmussen (1929:228), the word is used in relationship to a combination of melody, song words, and dance. It also describes a feature of drum dance performance in which one dancer is followed by another dancer and one singer is followed by another singer.

3. Suqulajuq - "to chant." A Western Inuit dialect word for sing. It is occasionally heard in Gjoa Haven and Pelly Bay and is translated as chant; the term actually broadened in meaning to signify the entire drum dance celebration. (Cavanagh 1982:18)

4. Nitjalukqatuq - "making sound" is also sometimes used (especially in song texts) to mean hum or sing, usually in a private context (Cavanagh 1982:18).

5. Nipaikpaqpit - "an unusually quiet person." The term indicates that "he is incapable or unskilled at hunting and hence has no stories about which to sing at the drum dance" (Cavanagh 1982:17).

6. Imnqiqtut - "singing in unison" or "singing for other people" (Cavanagh 1982:18).

7. Akkijuq - "a person who starts off the singing" (Luke Irna'naaq 1987:17).

A focus upon dancing and drumming rather than upon the song encouraged prime informants Noah Piuqaatuq (Igloolik) and Joe Patterk (Rankin Inlet) to define the following terms:

1. Qagiavuut - "a call to come and gather."* Noah Piuqaatuq explained this term as meaning both to "come and dance, and to come and sing." He stated: "when the call was heard we knew they would be dancing and singing. They would be happy now."

2. Nilliqsijuituq - "a dancer who never makes a sound or is shy."

3. Nipjiqtiqtuq - "the dancer's shouts and cries" described as an emotional utterance, or showing happiness.

4. Immijaktuq - He is making a vibratory (good) sound. The "way to drum" is the way to "lift your spirits."

5. Nallau'jijuq - "laying down with the drum" identifies a particular dance style where the drum head is lowered to scan the floor (in the horizontal plane) for a temporary period. The style is familiar in the Rankin Inlet and Eskimo Point areas.

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[*] Fifty years ago Rasmussen (1929:241) also wrote: "On the evening when any man of the village gives a banquet and festival in the quaggi, the following cry is used to call the people together: 'qug'iava, qug'iava'; this is shouted about the place until all have heard."

6. Iniquituq - singing a song for a drum dance.

7. Pisiliuliqtuq - "starting to make a song"

8. Iniuqtuq - "singing a song for drum dancers"

9. Anaulaqtuq - the sound of a beginner or the tentative "up and down beating" of a novice drum dancer.

10. Aullattiqtuq - "the warm-up or good start"

11. Akkiqtaqtuq - the sound of a "professional" dancer (i.e., adept).

Several of these words emphasize the conviction that not only is sound produced through movement, but that the 'good sound' is synonymous with the dancer executing the 'correct movement.' In brief, the 'good sound' equals the 'good dancer.' An informant described the "professional" drum dancer as someone who can create exciting sounds or a "sound that is not flat" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik 1986).*

Thus, the words used by the Inuit to refer to the drum dance comprise a composite idiom for talking about rhythmic patterns that are both seen and heard. Theoretists suggest that in Inuit society the ear cannot be separated from the eye.** The definition of drum dancing given earlier as the "joy of communicating through sound" might therefore be more appropriately rephrased as "the joy of seeing and hearing how sound comes to life through movement"; the pleasure related to both auditory and somatic rhythms.*

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*See Appendix II for further Inuit drum dance terminology.

**The Western tendency to separate the senses is evident in Carpenter's observation (1973:33) since he states that amongst the Aivilik "the oral tradition is so strong as to make the eye subservient to the ear. They define space more by sound than sight. Where we might say, 'Let's see what we can hear,' they would say, 'Let's hear what we can see.'"

The integral nature of sound/movement is succinctly expressed in terms of an evaluative criteria by Donald Suluk, an Eskimo Point informant; the attributes of a good dancer described as:

> the way he moves
> the way he looks
> the care he takes to tell the words
> to the song and
> the way he handles the drum.

This indigenous statement underlines the fact that an interest in song is simultaneously an interest in dance. More specifically, an understanding of this complex idiom incorporates the understanding that the body is the most immediate and simplest rhythm instrument.**

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*See Kubik's (1979) study of African music for a theory of perception in rhythmic pattern as both sound and music.

**A poignant description of how the rhythms of song may also simultaneously culminate in rhythms of the body is suggested in the story of an Iglulik woman Uvavnuk, who became a great shaman after being struck by a meteorite. The possession of a lighted flame within her caused her to run inside the igloo and burst into song. However, the resultant effect of appreciated rhythms may also be interpreted as including movement (see Appendix VI, 2).

The Perception of Rhythmical Patterns

As elsewhere, Inuit rhythmic patterns in sound and movement appear to reflect an individual's early subjective experiences. Amongst the Inuit the unconscious enculturation process tends to stress a repetitive symmetrical pattern. Specifically, the absorption of a two-phased pattern appears to be encouraged at an early age since young children are carried on their mother's or siblings' back up to the age of two or three years. Not surprisingly, the repetitive step action also associates with an ongoing rhythmic pulse reflecting the nomadic lifestyle characteristic of traditional Inuit, as well as the usual way an Inuit mother (or infant caregiver) pacifies a child by putting it in the amautiq and either walks or steps on the spot, rocking the child back and forth. Thus the integration of sound and movement is encouraged at an early age. Moreover, as the child grows older, the assimilation of sound and movement continues to be important since success in the hunt is dependent not only in learning to imitate the sound of animals, but also by practicing the reciprocal actions of animal movements.*

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*The anthropologist Lange (1975:48) reminds us that movement is a means of expression and communication, "known equally to animals and man ... the more rudimentary any movement expression, the more commonly it is understood by living beings." This is how we "understand animals and they understand us."

Furthermore, an example of built-in rhythmical sound/movement patterns can be evidenced in the informal Inuit practice of Thanking Acts. The anthropologist M. Freeman (1968:25-28) identifies the assimilated pattern as a shrill vocalization that is frequently accompanied by a short stomping dance, the weight shifted from foot to foot.* It is described as a ritual response to a pleasing situation in general, and is enacted by either male or female; for example, receiving a distribution of meat or skins, hearing good news, or welcoming the return of hunters. The performance is recounted as lasting approximately ten seconds and requiring "no more space than the area stood in at the start" (Freeman 1968:25).

The Movement Implication

The perception of an essential unity between sound and movement means that the dancer does not perceive that the body is to be manipulated in time and space for purposes of manifesting formal sequences.* While the preceding discussion of rhythmic pattern might appear to argue Lomax' perception that dance is essentially a modulation of an embedded motor program,** it is to be equally stressed that the meaning of the familiar rhythmic pattern does not reside in an unconscious stimulus-response reaction. Indeed, it is consciously recognized that Inuit drum dancing means "dancing in public."*** Hence the purpose of manifesting a sound and movement pattern in that meaning is extended into the social context; the experience enhanced because it is kinesthetically and acoustically shared.

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*Witnessing four accounts of Thanking Acts from James Bay to Baffin Island he relates that in the case of a Belcher Island woman, the sound was described as "Eeee ... Eeee ..." repeated several times as the weight shifted. In another case, no actions accompanied the vocalization since the woman was in a hospital bed. In this instance, the sound changed from 'Eeee Eeee' to the word Nakkomik (thanks), followed by "Mmmmmm ... long drawn out and undulating."

In other words, although a certain predisposition towards psycho-biological processes should be recognized, the meaning is not in the movements per se, but rather in how these movements provide a reference to what the performer would be doing in an everyday scenario if he/she were not dancing. Accordingly, in Inuit drum dance the limited movement vocabulary stresses the awareness that movements are essentially to be interpreted as signs of mutual understandings about social conventions.****

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[*] The dance anthropologist A. Kaeppler (1985:92) points out that the concept of dance often masks a Western category. In Systems in Tonga, she argues that it would be a "more holistic and objective point of view" if movement was analyzed as an integral dimension of various activities.

[**] Articulated in his cross-cultural studies (1959; 1968).

[***] The Igloolik Elder Noah Piuqaatuq stated this condition for drum dancing.

[****] A similar conclusion is drawn in Gell's (1985:183-205) study of Style and Meaning in Umeda Dance.

The Western Perception

Perhaps the greatest difficulty Westerners have in understanding the complex cultural idiom of the Inuit is partially caused by a long history of the marginalization of the body, the expression of somatic rhythm habitually discouraged.* The early missionary encounters with Inuit culture illustrate this problem. Although the singing of hymns provided a point of cultural contact, the missionaries were shocked by the Inuit's full-bodied response to the music. It is recorded in New Quebec, in the early days of the Hebron mission, that the Inuit, much to the dismay of the Moravian Brethren, appeared not to be interested in music because "they expressed a desire to dance to hymn tunes" (M. Lutz 1982:20).

Similarly, amongst the Utku of Central Canada, the anthropologist J. Briggs (1970:53) notes the confusion that attended initial Inuit encounters with the etiquette of Western religious rituals:

> Inuttiaq in a communicative moment once showed me the way the Utku used to sing hymns in the early days of their Christianity; jogging rhythmically from foot to foot. 'We thought we should do it that way; we were very confused.'

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*For a discussion of the history of the "marginalization" of the body in the Western world, see J. Hanna(1983:32) and P. Brinson (1986:73-80). Also the philosopher F. Sparshott (1988:6-81) discusses the lack of a tradition or aesthetic philosophy for dance.

In short, a failure to understand traditional Inuit drum dance is basically a failure to understand the integral nature of song and dance. This has been corroborated by a consideration of both key Inuit terms, and a Inuit perception of rhythmical pattern.

In addition to the knowledge derived from this discussion on Complex Idiom, the reader should bear in mind that what makes the drum dance happen is also dependent upon a preliminary knowledge associated with a basic ideology and rationale. Accordingly, in the following section, a relevant context linked to a common understanding of incentives, rewards, and satisfactions are considered. Specifically, an understanding of occasion structure begins by examining the underlying concepts of song composition, as well as the rationale of drum dance as a "challenge tradition" in Inuit society. Although further inquiry will investigate the core structure of a drum dance occasion as it pertains to an ideology of the performance idiom, i.e., the drum and song content (see Part III Chapter V), the following discussion considers the relevant concepts identifying a rationale for the drum dance occasion, as well as an interpretation of this complex rationale.

B. THE NATURE OF SONG COMPOSITION

Traditionally, every individual was expected to have his or her own songs. Many songs, however, were composed with the explicit purpose of being performed at important feasts and festivals. These songs, composed for public occasions were the dance songs.

The making of song, however, was originally a private matter. Moreover, the song was not spontaneous or improvised, but developed through the rigours of the creative process.* During periods of travelling, of tracking prey in the hunt, or sitting alone in the evening, the composer was also engaged in a process of choice; carefully choosing the words that would convey the meaning of personal experience as well as deciding a careful arrangement of the text and melody. After achieving something formally satisfactory, the composer committed the song to memory. This constant rehearsal enabled the composer to refer to song as "comrades in solitude" (Rasmussen 1931:15).

Within the private domain of family life, the man generally transmitted the song to his wife. If, however, the man did not have a wife or she was too young to learn or remember the song, then it was generally the man's mother who memorized the song. The importance of the woman's role here is suggested by Rasmussen, who states that a woman "is supposed to be the man's memory" (1929:240). Cavanagh (1982:78) implicitly amplifies the importance of women in the social context when she states: "without constant exposure to song, one might be able to follow the chorus for other songs, but not give a solo performance."

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*The conscious and deliberate act to create a song is emphasized by the phrases: 'I am working at it' (sanavakkaliriga), 'I might forget it' (natuliqpanqa), and 'I am learning it' (ilisaraluariga) (Cavanagh 1982:79).

Thus the rehearsal of song continued in the composer's absence. Song practice, however, was not limited to the private domain of the family but, as stated, shared amongst the other women of the community. The women's serious attention to song demonstrated their conscious awareness that informal rehearsals would ultimately be shaped into formal presentations during song/dance events.* Although it is obvious that women habitually engaged in routine collective camp chores might well enjoy the pleasurable activity of singing their husband's songs, the full significance of their rehearsals is rooted in the women's awareness of their intermediary role in performance.

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*Rasmussen (1929:228) states: "An essential preliminary to the success of the general entertainment is the careful practices of the songs by each family in their huts. These people have no written characters and no means of breaking the monotony of indoor life but what they can make for themselves, so that the songs are apt to be their chief method of entertainment."

An awareness of this intermediary role was clearly demonstrated whenever a stranger visited the camp since the man's performance role was normally dependent upon whether a woman took time to learn his song. Although his song was learned by a woman it was often transmitted to several women. The co-operative venture of learning song for performance purpose was succinctly explained by an informant* as "the women learn the songs in order that the men might have a song to dance to."

Further evidence of the importance of the women's intermediary role between the composer and the community is recognized by the ethnomusicologist Nattiez. He states that it was the "group that plays the role of collective poetic memory, since if a composer forgot parts of his song, it was not rare for him to address himself to members of the community in order to find them again" (Nattiez 1979:3).**

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*Emile Immaroittuq, Igloolik, 1986.

**Translated from the French by University of Saskatchewan professor David Edney.

C.) THE CHALLENGE TRADITION

Generally recalled by informants as "joyful reunions," song/dance celebrations often occurred when a single Inuk arrived or when two camps came together. The rationale for these celebrations was to establish dance partnerships for purposes of ordering behavior in terms of mutual responsibility (discussed earlier). The latter task entailed the establishment of rank or prestige. Accordingly, the flip-side of "joyful reunion" implied an attitude best described by Rasmussen as a "dominant passion for rivalry" (1929:227). Typically, the struggle for supremacy actually proceeded in a congenial manner. The challenge tradition is recalled:

> When old friends met at a certain camp the host of these two people would be overjoyed. There would be great expectation that the two would challenge each other during the drum dance.
> (Luke Arna'naag, Isumas, Vol. 1, March 1987)

However, a true understanding of the 'challenge tradition' requires the historical knowledge that drum dancing was traditionally used both as (i) a competitive forum for a test of strength, and as (ii) a competitive situation that encouraged aggressive behavior for the explicit purpose of determining and exercising judicial authority.

The Contest as a Test in Strength and Endurance

Drum dancing, like other forms of dance, have always been contests in disguise, a means to determine the relative skills of the participants. Amongst the Central Canadian Inuit, the use of a proportionally larger drum places emphasis upon the demonstration of strength and endurance.* Thus, in these areas, participants gain status through stamina. Accordingly, the good dancer pays special attention to drum construction and any other technical features that might conceivably give him a mechanical advantage. The anthropologist K. Birket-Smith (1929:270) informs us that the Netsilik "support the back end of the handle against the wrist." An Igloolik informant similarly states that in the Pelly Bay area "the drums were made a little bigger (their) handles longer (and designed to rest) just a little behind the wrist" (Noah Piuqaatuq, Iglulik, 1986, see Plate 19). Nattiez (1979:8) notes that Pelly Bay dancers earned a formible reputation by using this special type of handle. However, at one specific Iglulik drum dance, an event that has "remained in everyone's memory" (Nattiez 1979:8) because the favored Pelly Bay dancers lost the competition, when the Iglulik discovered that the Pelly Bay slipped the long shaft of the drum into their sleeves. On the basis of this special intelligence the Iglulik invited a contest on the condition that only a drum with a shortened shaft could be used. In consequence, required to wield the drum by holding the shaft only in the hand as was the Iglulik practice, the Netsilik people lost.

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*The drum is larger than that used in Greenland, New Quebec or Alaska.

The importance of these competitive events is further evidenced by a widespread interest in the technology of drum construction. In the Eskimo Point area the practice of making a drum with an "off-centered handle or the handle secured slightly at right angles" (L. Arna'naaq, 1987:12) provided a considerable mechanical advantage:

> the top (half of the drum) is heavier ... one does not need to help it to fall down. It does it on its own. All one needs to do is lift it back up with each beat.

Still, success in drum dancing strength competitions was based not only on drum construction, but also upon the important criterion of the dancer's ability to 'finish the song.' This phrase implies that in strength competitions the dance song was frequently protracted either by repetition or composition of a sequential arrangement of several songs. In any case, the length of song tested the drum dancer's endurance. In brief, it was advantageous for the drum dancer and the singers to have an extensive song repertoire.

In the Iglulik region, an interesting performance psychology is indicated by the perceived correlation between strength and song. Since the drum dancers did not want to convey any impression that the drum was heavy and by implication admit their lack of strength, they choose to believe that what made the drum heavy was the "sound of the song, coiled up inside the wooden frame of the drum" (Nattiez 1979:7).

Although competition generally occurred between paired individuals, sometimes it arose in the context of a competition between two camps. But in both these cases the evaluation of winning was based on careful scrutiny of "each song and each performance ... often by the eldest man present" (Nattiez 1979:9). Generally, the reward for winning was prestige. However, in the case of competition between two camps a tangible prize useful to the whole community, a harpoon for example, might be offered (Nattiez 1979:9).

The Contest as a Judiciary Solution

The dramatic competition of song duelling provided an effective means for arriving at judiciary solutions. The anthropologist Rouland (1979:97) asserts that, with the exception of murder, which was often punished by vendettas, most legal cases were judged using the rhetoric of songs to air grievances and discredit adversaries.

Venting explicit feelings, the opponents in turn drummed and danced to the rhythms of their own mocking song. Although a license to humiliate with derisive song enforced a moral code whose power was based on everybody's fear of being isolated, the dramatic forum also strove to resolve conflict situations through humor. Winners were usually those contestants who were spared the laughter of a judiciary audience, a judgment which losers usually accepted without acrimony. As Rasmussen (1929:232) states, "lose or win, the adversaries regard their quarrel as a thing of the past and once more become good friends, exchanging valuable presents to celebrate the reconciliation." Moreover, since song texts seldom allude to legal disputes, it is apparent that a winner is declared not by "separating right from wrong - condemning the culprits or absolving individuals" but rather by evaluating "the whole personalities of the opponents" in their performances (Balikci 1970:189).

Performance, therefore, incorporated a form of communication that registered messages derived from both verbal and non-verbal interaction. Specifically, the acidic song text in a legal dispute was complemented by gestures and intonations that amplified, emphasized, and occasionally substituted for the spoken text.* Thus, to achieve the status of winner in drum dance event depended upon the mastery of a complex communicative performance role in which the roles of the drum dancer and poet were fused.

In competitions featuring lampoon and insult songs, the continuum of serious rivalry might also represent activities such as wrestling and boxing. These additional contests were particularly frequent among the Netsilik and Iglulik since song cousins often engaged in physical encounters that "resulted in black eyes and serious bruises and sprains." The injuries were said to characterize relationships and only rarely disturbed the "general spirit of levity" (Damas 71:45). Amongst the Netsilik, Balikci (1970:110) reports that in highly competitive situations of judiciary conflict, opponents were more likely to seek a final solution with their fists.

Despite the recognition that games traditionally took place in the dance house and were sometimes accompanied by song, the ethnographic literature has tended to separate games from dance and song. Although Rasmussen (1929:232) relates that "sometimes the songs were accompanied by a kind of boxing," my own theory in this regards holds that in a highly competitive situation the dance/song and game of boxing were likely merged into a single activity. This is derived from an Igloolik informant* who described the game of hitting each other on the shoulder (tikuutijuq) or on the head (igagtuulijuq) as an alternating three-part A B A activity; the beginning and ending periods of song/dance framing the game of fisticuffs. Furthermore, he explained that what weaves the elements into an integral unit was the continual use of song and the relatively steady sound of duple pulse. However, in the game section, the sounding beat was no longer maintained by the drum but by the rhythmic rain of blows to the body. The game continued until a partner "steps or falls back." The successful opponent then celebrates his victory by dancing to his own song to end the competition. Although during the game section the song of either opponent may be sung, the ending song was described as the "winner's song." The highly competitive song/dance - game - song/dance event was, according to my informant, "rarely done, but sometimes when first-cousins meet" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik 1986). Perhaps it is an event like this that

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*A brief discussion of the importance of non-verbal communication (as stressed in the works of H. Spencer, S. Langer, R. Birdwhistell, and A. Lomax) is outlined in P. Spencer (1985:12-15).

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*Noah Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987.

Hall (1864:99) records in his description of a Repulse drum dance (circa 1864):

> Ook-bar-loo was the first performer ... When Ook-bar-loo was tired out, Oon-goo-too took up the key-low-tik; the women striking up for their second song and the performers stripping off their jackets to be naked from their loins up, alternately dealing each other fearful blows ... The one who had played the Key-low-tik the longer now struck his blows without mittens, and Ook-bar-loo ere long gave signs of surrender. The times varied from ten to thirteen minutes each.

D. THE COMPLEX RATONALE

Since the traditional drum dance occasion functions in both a social and a religio-magic way, it is obvious that a wide range of functions might be cited to identify how Inuit drum dancing interrelates within the whole social-economic-political system. However, my present intention is not to cite a multiplicity of functions but rather to explain how these manifest functions express a set of premises linked to specific purposes. To clarify this, an indigenous perspective is sought since, although the people are aware of how the drum dance traditionally functioned within the social system, they generally do not state the raison d'etre in logical or causal terms. Rather they define what a drum dance does or manifests with reference to its specific purpose or how it operates as a primary agent. In other words, because purpose implies both individual and collective responsibilities, the rationale of drum dance occasion is generally understood in terms of beliefs or truths. This rationale can be illustrated by the following account (told to Hawkes circa 1913) which poignantly describes an Inuit spokesman's concern over the effects of missionary influence:

> To stop the Eskimo singing and dancing is like cutting the tongue out of a bird. We danced long before the White men came, and would not know how to spend the long dark winters if our only form of amusement were taken away. We do not dance for pleasure alone, but to attract the game, so that families might be fed. If we do not dance, the spirits who attend the feast will be angry and the animals will stay away. The shades of our ancestors will go hungry, since there will be no one to feed them at the festivals. Their names will be forgotten if no namesake sings praises in the dance. There is nothing bad about the dance, which makes our hearts good towards each other. If the dances are stopped, the ties between groups will be broken, and the Eskimo will cease to be strong. The dances also supply the wants of the Eskimo, the interchange of gifts resulting in each group getting what they need most. At the conclusion of the feast the surplus is distributed amongst the needy.
>
> (Johnston 1977:66-67)

The Conceptual Framework of Participants*

It is obvious that acculturation processes introduced by church and civic institutions have altered the manifest function of the drum dance occasion. However, a focus upon a traditional set of premises enables us to reconstitute procedural implications from within a historical perspective. In brief, the strong influence of tradition provides a basic continuity. Relevant traditional concepts therefore can situate both the performer and audience within a diachronic perspective.

The Motivational Continuum: Both Then and Now

Historically the Inuit conceived of performance occasions in two contrasting ways, each equally significant and reflecting basic assumptions rooted in historical tradition. Although these general conceptual frameworks are not formally recognized by the Inuit, they are aware that the performance occasion is habitually differentiated by two distinct psychological modes, the drum dance motivated by a rationale that participants consistently refer to as either "serious" or "fun."*

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*Analysis of the conceptual framework has been adapted from the work of ethnomusicologist Qureshi (1986:106-108). Also, for a theoretical discussion of a common sense practicality that motivates behavior in terms of conscious prior intentions, subjectivity and causal effect (i.e., conditions fulfilled) see the philosopher J. Searle (1984).

In the first concept frame, the serious drum dance (Frame A), arousal is linked to an aim of the gathering to go beyond the immediate social milieu into some higher association with spiritual beings or the spiritual dimensions of themselves. Participants who operate within this frame approach the occasion with a reverent attitude. By contrast, the second concept (Frame B) is not orientated towards the metaphysical plane, but rather to the temporal world where affairs of state or worldly status are the central issues. Here, participants confront a social milieu. As a result of this relationship between the two (worldly) parties a more convivial mood tends to be promoted.

Frame A

Serious/Spiritual

The serious conceptual frame might more appropriately be labelled serious/spiritual since the aim of these occasions is to achieve mystical communion. Historically, in the pre-Christian era (circa 1920 in the Iglulik region) mystical communion was motivated by a

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[*] Also, Hall's journal appears to define drum dance occasions within a serious-fun continuum since he refers to participants "changing characters from the comic and grotesque to the serious and superstitious" (1864:96).

communal request or desire for spiritual intervention. At these times the event was associated with the control of a powerful leader, a shaman or angakoq who acted as a medium to assure "good omens." By implication, the process of arousal was generally guided by feelings of wonder and fear.

Mystical communion is also associated with the moral responsibility to nourish collective sentiments and build morale through feelings of group solidarity. In a society where traditionally human life was subject to a certain degree of uncertainty and survival depended on teamwork, it is more than likely that the development of an increased rapport amongst participants operated as one of the main purposes for drum dance occasions. During the process of arousal, collective sentiment was created by a group of representative individuals who shared their biographies in song. In earlier times, a personal vulnerability was emphasized as an individual composer

> told about his work ...
> about the way things needed to be done
> or how desperate he was.
> It was like church where people care
> and get together - sharing memories
> with both the living and the dead.
> (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1986)

Today, although the power of song is no longer strictly associated with personal and familial songs, it is still important that the "composer/dancer know all the words and know what they mean." The heightened immediacy of experience communicated by the song was described as impacting to the degree that it "will make you laugh or cry" (Theresa Kimaliakjuk, Rankin Inlet, 1987).

Although contemporary participants in serious spiritual occasions still seek to produce powerful communication through the combined medium of words, voice, movement and drum, the general rationale is to encourage an increased cultural identity through shared memories of a traditional heritage. This nourishing of collective sentiments is generally described in terms such as "recalling memories", "diverting worry", "caring for others", or evoking "feelings of joy." A contemporary Eskimo Point informant defines the rationale of the serious/spiritual occasion in terms of traditional guidelines that prescribe a "humble happiness":

> To tell the truth -- the real meaning is to share joy, even when there are hard times and the family has passed away ... It is to show that you are happy the way you are, the way your family is, the way things are, ... and in a humble way. (Donald Suluk, 1986)

Frame B

Competitive/Fun

In the second conceptual frame the rationale behind the drum dance is synonymous with a motivational attitude of competitive fun. On these occasions participants are motivated not by a moral responsibility that seeks to lift people out of the realm of everyday affairs, but rather by a genial moral authority that orders relations within the temporal world. Moreover, because in this conceptual frame an individual's identity is tied to a social milieu, the dancer's attention is directed towards the central issue of establishing power. Accordingly, this is reflected in the movement since the idiom is orientated towards sheer physical displays of the sort that connotes entertainment.

As mentioned, drum dance events traditionally featured partners confronting each other in song, drum and dance rivalries; the "challenge tradition" ranging from comic joking or jostling to demonstrations of parading strength in highly competitive situations. Specifically, recruiting potential allies and vying for supremacy meant a range of purposes, the continuum stretching from establishing friendly relations to combative encounters where an opponent might literally be drummed out of town. On rare occasions, opponents engaged in a song/dance that gave way to the game activity of fisticuffs. Balikci (1970:169) records that "the ambivalent character of joking and wife exchange partnerships frequently led to open hatred expressed in fist fights and drum duels."

Today, the combative element of competitive/fun events has been largely suppressed by the judiciary processes of civic institutions and by the prominent teaching of the church. Accordingly, most Inuit have come to believe that it is "wrong to say anything bad about someone through explicit song text" (N. Piuqaatuq, 1986). The concept frame, however, can still be perceived as remaining intact since drum dance occasions often feature a gregarious and jocular mood, the aggressive aspects present in a muted and humorous form.

Procedural Implications: Both Then and Now

Frame A

Participants within events defined by the serious/spiritual conceptual frame subordinate themselves to the primacy of the medium. Typically, they conceive of themselves as instrumental agents serving the realization of a higher goal. Performers at these occasions are, as it were, conscious proxies or "there by implication" since they are aware that it is the medium (song/dance, voice, drum) which allows access to the spirits and generates communal arousal. Thus the dancers' premise that the medium is primary indicates that the movement idiom is linked to an atmosphere which is generally described as serious, dedicated or reverent.

The complementary premise sustaining this mood is the individual's responsibility to activate appropriate emotions by responding on the basis of a sincere inner state, the event manifested in accordance with personal needs of the moment. The resultant flexible structure provides scope for self-expression, since it encourages improvisation and allows for filling movements by displaying a greater variety of "effort qualities."

Also, it should be recognized that at the same time that a premise concerning the medium is operating, an equally significant premise of measuring the interaction between performer and audience occurs. Analogous to performers in environmental theatre, participants in the drum dance consider an individual's emotional fulfillment as linked to a communal situation in which all participants can conceivably be transported. Ultimately, the focus is inward and meditative since all participants aspire to a state of receiving spiritual gifts. Obviously, a non-competitive ethic prevails given the co-operative premise underlying the serious/spiritual frame. In operation, these events demonstrate that collective efforts translate into collective rewards. Accordingly, the profundity that characterizes these occasions results from accumulative arousal; the journeying together associated with constant energies collected over a period of time.*

Since the ability to manipulate good and evil forces was traditionally seen to rest upon an ability to generate equally powerful forces, a high intensity associated with a trance state where the arousal remains within control of self might often have been characteristic of the drum dance occasion.** In addition, the use of poetic rather than narrative texts promoted metaphoric qualities. In combination the highly intense arousal states and the metaphoric text would appear to encourage the modulation of functional movements from the semiotic/communicative domain into the realm of symbolic action.

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*For an understanding of deep-flow experience, see Csikszentmihalyi's theory (1975: especially pp. 102-122). In general, the flow experience encouraging a sense of collective consciousness and creative accomplishment. The process entails a centering of attention that promotes a loss of self-consciousness as well as a heightened sense of function through the joy of participating; the immediate feedback enhancing a sense of control. Sometimes the experience involves "shifting boundaries of time and consciousness, usually from the secular to the sacred" (Hanna 1988:13).

**R. Schechner (1985:11-12) explains that trance arising from accumulative repetition does not build to a climax. Similar to "repetitious music such as Phillip Glass's, the spectator's mind turns to subtle variations that would not be detectable in structure where attention is directed to narrative or melodic development." He distinguishes trance that is characterized as "total low intensity" rather than "total high intensity." The former is described by Lex (1979) as trophotropic since the heart rate and blood pressure decrease, the pupils restrict and the EEG is synchronized. Conversely, the latter is ergotropic since the heart rate and blood pressure increase, the pupils dilate and the EEG is desynchronized.

In today's quasi-urban Inuit society, cumulative arousal is harder to achieve. Individuals tend to realize the potential for experience rather than actually having a "realized experience." The modern lessening of arousal is caused not only by the historical facts that collective energies are no longer needed to combat evil forces, but by a host of other contemporary considerations. These include (i) a reduced attentiveness caused by too many children at performances; (ii) an increased space/size ratio that lessens intimacy; and (iii) reduced anxieties related to the song, now that the texts are for the most part more accessible to the public domain; the poet/dancer's own experiences less likely to be sung as an open confession.

Also significant in this context is the relation between expression, inner concentration, and a devotional attitude to cultural knowledge. A wide range of possible subjective varieties of these basic attitudes is evident at performance today. For most participants, however, the level of "attentiveness" is generally "mild arousal" or an emotional response "expressive of delight and pleasure."*

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*For terms defining shades of spiritual arousal, see the work of ethnomusicologist R. Qureshi (1986:119). She describes the continuum of increased intensity in terms of contrasting sets; for example: (1) neutral state vs. aroused state, (2) incipient arousal (i.e., potential experience) vs. strong arousal (i.e., realized experience), and (3) arousal within control of self vs. arousal outside of control of self.

Frame B

Participants who employ the concept of competitive/ fun are aware that they employ the idiom for purposes of confronting a very real audience rather than of entering into another realm. Their premise or underlying motivation can be fairly interpreted as encouraging a competitive ethic since the performer consciously asserts his or her own identity. Accordingly, charisma is valued, and performances are marked by employing the idiom for personal, winning mannerisms. Underlying the competitive/ fun concept frame is the premise of an emphasis upon the social milieu. Accordingly, the intention is to dissociate from being a guest for states of mystical transport. Although worldly and spiritual states can be regarded as being one and the same thing, it is nevertheless true that arousal limited to explicit messages of the social code are restrictive. Thus, the complementary premise of the competitive/fun frame is the recognition that performance promotes a common morality. Unlike the serious/spiritual frame, morality is no longer confirmed inwardly, but rather enforced outwardly in relation to the communal body of collected representatives. Accordingly, this external criteria limits expression; the formal rules or expectations imposing a restrictive code of conduct. So in performances of this type, performer-audience relations tend to promote modulated arousal since emotional responses are dependent upon individual performers. In other words, intensity does not build gradually through the entire integrated social process, but instead arousal appears to be a function of a specific performer's skill and charisma.

Since traditionally participants would literally stand behind or pull for or against competitive opponents, performer-relations tended to encourage a fragile or brittle atmosphere as distinct from a more relaxed mood characteristic of serious/spiritual occasions. Historically, since individuals were also made vulnerable through explicit narrative song texts it is likely that physical mannerisms developed in explicit response to verbal challenges. Obviously, movements directed towards or against a real external force demonstrate different effort qualities from those directed towards spiritual beings. The former movements tend to be strong and direct as well as being more limited in improvisational structure. The mannerisms and facial gestures stressing this outward focus typical of the competitive frame are illustrated in Thalbitzer's photos (see Appendix III:4,5).*

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*T. Johnston (1977:61) relying on Olson (1972), reports that in Greenland the "priests soon banned the famous drum flight; the last of which took place in early 1920s."

Today this intensely competitive, almost pugilistic dimension of the dance is no longer apparent. Although, historically, a spirit of camaraderie emphasized friendly relations at even the most competitive events, now the aim is explicitly "to make people laugh and be happy" (A. Seewoe, Eskimo Point, 1987). This shift of emphasis links entertainment with pure fun rather than governing rules. This is suggested by an informant, A. Seewoe, who explains that "fun was more serious in the old days."

Since traditionally fun was circumscribed within the competitive forum, it is interesting to speculate on the cultural guidelines that sanction the modern concept of fun. In other words, to what extent will individual Inuit drum dancers engage in attention-getting devices in a society where it was traditionally not appropriate to draw undue attention to oneself? Although flamboyant styles and smiling gestures by performers are still evident, there appears to be a conscious effort to deflect attention from the self by involving or "teasing in" varied audience members. This may occur in a number of ways: the drum dancer may explicitly dance in front of a specific audience member or subtly shift the eye focus in and out to direct attention to varied audience members. At one performance I observed a performer who enjoyed employing more game-like or clowning gestures. He used his beating hand not only to strike the far side of the drum but occasionally reached out and tagged the head of an unsuspecting audience member. The introduction of this tag-like game, no matter how often it was repeated in the dance, always evoked great outbursts of laughter. From these examples we can speculate that today the competitive/fun category orientates more towards the latter, the continuum indicating less about an individual's aggressive displays of strength and more about servicing the general good humour of the group.

In conclusion, it is obvious that a single genre has adapted to a wide range of functions that have evolved in accordance with changes in the socio-historical context. Analysis of the two main conceptual frames and their respective procedural implications in both historical and contemporary contexts allows for the emergence of a diachronic view of the drum dance. Accordingly, the diagrammed tables appended to this chapter identifies the motivational continuum in Inuit drum dance, and the cultural theatre performances. Specifically, analysis of the two conceptual frameworks in drum dance reinforces the anthropologist Briggs' (1979:6) perspective that "in comparison to our standards seriousness and playfulness were extremely important styles of interaction." Happiness relates that one "is a good person, a safe person, one who can be relied on to protect and show concern (nallik) towards others, and not transgress against them." Also, laughter and joking of adults is "not silly, childlike ... or merely expressive of an efflorescence of good spirits, but had important social and psychological functions." Moreover, it is important to note that dance is no longer linked strictly to negotiating, bribing, or placating universal forces, or to establishing social networks and enforcing public policies, yet drum dancing still continues to be viewed as a vehicle that enlivens the spirit. As prime informant N. Piuqaatuq (Igloolik, 1986) explains:

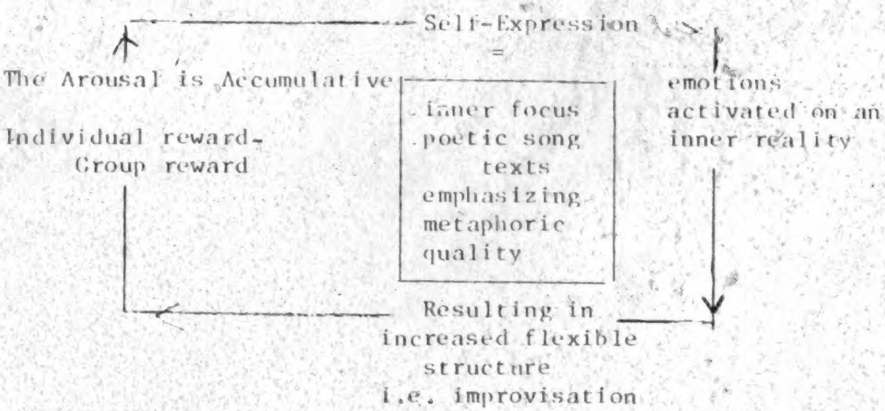
> A dancer dances for a memory that lives within him. Dancing recalls memories and the enjoyment of being with people, of alleviating feelings of isolation and boredom. Dancing takes away bad memories - after you dance, the spirit is peaceful. To dance is to be very, very happy. You are at peace with yourself and everyone else around.

Table 10. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE MOTIVATIONAL CONTINUUM of TRADITIONAL INUIT DRUM DANCE

Manifest Function	Serious/Spiritual Concept Frame A		The Social Structure	Competitive/Fun Concept Frame B		
Related to	1. A Moral Responsibility (A Request for Intervention)			2. A Moral Authority (A Challenge Tradition)		
Associated with	Mystical Communion			Competitive Rivalry		
	Negotiating	Nourishing	Established through	Establishing	Boundaries	
	Good Omens	Collective Sentiments		Friendly Relations	Combative Forums	
	generated by			generated by		
	A powerful leader i.e. Shaman/ Angakok	Song Composers i.e. Poet/Dancers and Singers	Song/Dance Partnerships = "Joyful Reunions"	Comic-joking partners	Combative Duels i.e. Song Duels	Song/Dance Game Activity
Performance -Audience Relations	Accumulative Arousal			Modulated Arousal		
	A Non-Competitive Ethic			A Competitive Ethic		

Table 11.

PROCEDURAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE
CONCEPT FRAME A: SERIOUS/SPIRITUAL

The Overriding Premise	Identifying	The Primacy of The Medium
The Performer	– – – – –	Acting as Agent
Increased Performer-Audience Relations – – –	– – –	Collaborative efforts for collaborative rewards
The Perception	– – – – – –	 Self-Expression = emotions activated on an inner reality The Arousal is Accumulative inner focus poetic song texts emphasizing metaphoric quality Individual reward-Group reward Resulting in increased flexible structure i.e. improvisation

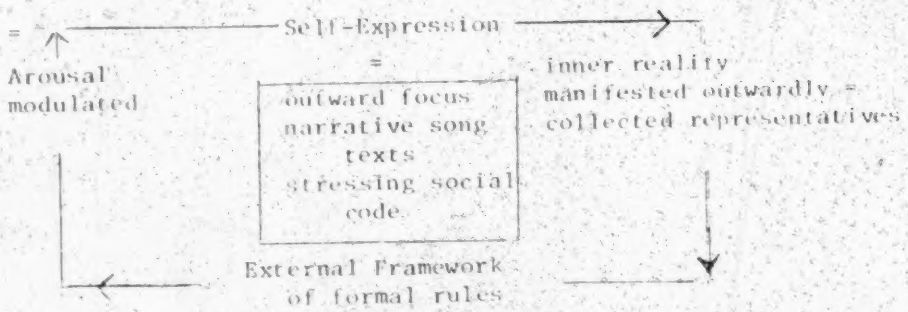
The Underlying Rationale	linked to	Accepting a moral responsibility
The Atmosphere	linked to	A non-competitive Ethic encouraging a devotional, relaxed mood
The Arousal Factor	linked to	Accumulative rather than climatic intensity
Messages	linked to	Symbolic action, i.e. multivocal

Table 12.

PROCEDURAL IMPLICATIONS

CONCEPT B: COMPETITIVE/FUN

The Overriding Premises	Underlying	The Primacy of the Performer
		i.e. The Persona = a winning charisma
The Performer	- - - - - -	Confronting the audience with referent messages of display. Concerned with the establishment of rapport and rank within a social milieu.
Increased Performer-Audience relations	- - - - -	Emphasis upon promoting a common morality.
The Perception	- - - -	=


Self-Expression
=
Arousal modulated
outward focus narrative song texts stressing social code
inner reality manifested outwardly = collected representatives
External Framework of formal rules

Underlying Rationale		Asserting a moral authority
- Atmosphere	linked to	Promoting a competitive ethic within a convivial, gregarious atmosphere
- Arousal Factor	linked to	Modulated intensity associated with specific individual skills and charisma
- Messages	linked to	Explicit Social referents, i.e. monovocal

PART III ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURE STRUCTURE

CHAPTER III EXAMINING THE SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

A systematic understanding of the setting of drum dance occasion begins with an understanding of how traditional drum dance occasions are both facilitated and limited by a particular habitat or natural environment. Conventional approaches stress the significance of social agents; the referents of the occasion, identified as pre-eminent socio-economic conditions such as population density and societal structures. However, inquiry into a traditional hunting society should recognize the significance of a total behavioral continuum, and expand the referents of the occasion to include environmental conditions that contribute to stress. This can be understood either as a continuum of input and output energy requirements, or a nomadic-sedentary continuum that relates to changing spatial and temporal patterns. In other words, calendric occurences are dependent not only upon social arrangements but upon physiological conditions that represent sources of spontaneity or feelings for dancing. In brief, drum dancing is manifested in accordance with a complex of social and cultural phenomenon.[*]

Obviously, occurrence in traditional Inuit society, reflected a social dimension linked to such considerations as the daily round of activities, the annual cycle, and the seasonal social residential patterns. But also of particular interest are the social and environmental factors that promoted winter as the "prime time" for drum dancing, and explained the relative scarcity of dance at other times of the year. (Perhaps summer time occurrence related mainly to song duels;—the drum dancing employed primarily as a dispute-settling mechanism). Further, although universal dance themes and their related functions appear in most dances,[**] certain themes at specific times of the year appear to be linked to predisposing pyschological experiences. Thus, one of my purposes in this chapter is to consider the thematic content of Inuit Drum Dance as a characteristic response to a subtler, social/environmental factor.

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[*] Hanna (1980:51) argues this viewpoint when she states that "dance has its roots in predisposing psychological processes (as well as) in social experience."

[**] See Spencer (1985:3-38) for his description of six universal dance themes. These include dance as a (1) safety valve or catharsis, (2) an educator and transmitter of sentiments, (3) a maintainer of sentiments, (4) a cumulative process, i.e., generator of emotional climax, (5) competitive boundary display, and (6) ritual drama stressing communitas and anti-structure.

A. The Social Dimension

The Annual Cycle

In general, although a diversity of resources are available to Inuit, it is "their irregular distribution as well as the geographical and climatic features which traditionally made access to the natural production most difficult" (Graburn 1973:141). Accordingly, a seasonal pattern evolved to facilitate the procurement and utilization of natural resources. Specifically, the aboriginal hunting cycle in the Central Arctic implied two main phases: (1) the winter, roughly from December to May, during which the primary activity was breathing-hole sealing (mauliqtug), supplemented in some regions with walrus* or polar bear hunting, and (2) a period from May to December when caribou hunting, fishing, small game hunting and fowling were carried out.** This seasonal/exploitative pattern, therefore, favored large social aggregations in the winter, and the dispersion of the population into smaller and smaller units in late spring and summer.

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*In the Iglulik area the primary winter activity of open seal hunting is equal in importance to walrus hunting (Damas 1966).

**While some groups such as the Copper and Netsilik employ exploitative zones which sharply divide land and sea hunting, others such as the Iglulik emphasize sea hunting occupations which overlap caribou hunting activity and replace lake fishing to a large extent (Damas 1966:47). The inland Keewatin area stresses caribou hunting and lake fishing.

In the early Spring, before this social fragmentation occurred, the principal occupation was basking seal hunting or uutoq.* Since in the late Spring (approximately mid-May) the caribou were lean and their skins poor, it was not until the beginning of Fall that important caribou drives motivated the people to begin to aggregate again. At this time the people also gathered for the Arctic char runs. By late November, with the end of the caribou hunt and the freezing of the lakes, the principal activities were domestic. Women sewed skins and the men visited caches. Accordingly, a relatively idle period became the rule in late November.

Although social and economic factors obviously influenced the size and location of social aggregations throughout the year, it was during this autumnal lull that "economic activity came to a standstill," and the overriding reason to gather was the desire to "expand social contacts" (Damas 1966:24).

In general, the community's exploitative patterns favoured social interaction in the late fall, early winter, and early spring. Since traditional drum dance events represented a gathering of individuals and groups that interacted within the larger social context, it is not surprising that the traditional drum dance season corresponds to a season of general economic inactivity, for example, late fall, early winter and early spring. The seasonal rhythm is recalled by an Igloolik informant:

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*Amongst the Iglulik uutoq sealing along with hunting larger sea mammals from the floe edge reached a high development (Damas 1966:47).

> In the summer, the people never really
> got together to drum dance as we were
> in different groups going mainland.
> In the summer, the man made up his song;
> In the winter he danced it.
> In the fall the people would be very
> busy catching food for the long winter.
> A quieter time to dance would be a
> little before Christmas (late November
> and December). People would get together
> as food was still available.
> (Noah Piuqaatuq, 1986)

The Summer Season

In the Arctic drum dancing as a summertime activity is generally described as reduced or rare. Contrary to southern notions, summer in the Arctic is a time of year when melted snow makes travelling extremely difficult. Accordingly, access to resources and the distribution of these resources is most limited. By contrast, informants in more southernly regions of the Arctic state that drum dance occasions occurred "any time of the year." This is corroborated by Boas' early work on the Inuit of Southern Baffin Island (1886:192) since he records summer feasts celebrated in the open air. The extended season in southernly regions can also be viewed in Thalbitzer's photos (see Appendix III: 1,2) since the pictures show drum dance duels in Eastern Greenland* when the ground is not covered with ice and snow.

Although these geographic conditions permitted drum dance occasions in the summer, the extension of the dance season appears also to have been linked to the absence of a taboo factor in this region. Rasmussen suggests that in the Arctic taboos on outdoor performance precluded the holding of a summer drum dance.** Similarly, Jenness (1925:9) explains that a lack of game songs, trail chants and work songs amongst the Copper was due to the indigenous belief that if one sang outside, a spirit would carry away the words of the song and thus "rob them of the breath of life."

The Geographic Locale

Traditionally, in areas were the economy is based on a wider range of resources, the frequency of drum dance occasions increased. That the feasibility of dance was dependent on socio-economic factors appears to be suggested by Igloolik informants who admit that "we have never been a major dancing center" and that others such as the Netsilik and Copper were "better dancers" because "we hunted more" and they "had little to eat and so they danced". Obviously, what these comments suggest is that a complex set of relations governed the feasibility of drum dance occasions. For example, in areas like Iglulik where a strong marine economy prevailed, the size of the social groups varied little since the gathering/dispersal cycles were relatively long. Amongst the Iglulik the sewing aggregations often overlapped the winter aggregations and the population/density numbered as many as 150 for a period that might last as long as six months (Damas 1966:47). By contrast, although the winter aggregations of a group with a land-sea subsistence economy, such as the Copper, might be as large as 100 (Damas 1966:33), the gathering/dispersal cycle occurred approximately every one to three weeks. Thus, in locales where groups maintained a wider subsistence economy a more informal, less structured, social structure developed. Dances and dancing partnerships were more frequent because they served to extend and strengthen relations beyond the immediate family social structure.

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*Near Angmassalik.

**Specifically, amongst the Netsilik he reports that "it is considered dangerous to hold song festivals under the open sky. That disturbs the spirits of the air and they would later take revenge - one of those taking part in the festival would surely die within the year" (1931:508).

B. THE ENVIRONMENTAL DIMENSION

Although the preceding discussion explains how the seasonal cadence of drum dance events mirrors a traditional exploitative/residential pattern, further investigation seeks to identify the dynamic interplay between social organization and ecological patterns that makes winter, rather than the fall, the prime season for the dance. Accordingly, the following discussion considers the divergent yet concomitant changes that relate the generative function to a dynamic range of behavioral adaptations.*

In general, hunting cultures pay special attention to the timing of a wide range of behavioral activities. Inuit culture is no exception. Informants consistently referred to drum dance occasions as occurring most frequently during "times of plenty" or "free time." One informant (Donald Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986) summed it up: "only when we rested would we dance." More significantly, informants frequently allude to the particular power of the dance to effect transformational change. In this light, occasions are described as producing a "change of situation," or the knowledge "that something pleasant will happen," and that "one's spirit will be lifted." This latter effect strongly suggests that the drum dance occasion was/is an overcoming mechanism. Moreover, this is exemplified in Inuit terminology, which equates the "way to drum" imijaktuq with the "way to lift one's spirit" (Noah Piuqaatuq).

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*A total configuration of behavior implies the following concept of adaptation. "If we look at social systems from the standpoint of an adaptive mechanism, there are two main aspects: (1) the internal adaptation, which is seen in the controlled relations of individuals within the social unity, and (2) the external adaptation as the social structure adapts to the natural environment" (Eggan 1937:82).

While investigation into the influences of environmental factors on the dance is not likely to discover absolute rules or fixed correlations, plausible theories relating the two have been advanced. Recent studies* have emphasized the effects of extreme polar lighting (the unusual, light-dark cycles) upon Arctic populations, and suggested a symptomatic relationship between the dance and the absence of the sun. The demonstrable synchronization of the traditional drum dance season with the seasonal rhythms governing the periodic disappearance of the sun (normally three months) encourages fascinating questions. Do the effects of extreme "photo periodism," the dis-synchronization of circadian rhythms in late winter and early spring explain the frequency of drum dance occasions in this season? More specifically, did drum dance traditionally exemplify an unconscious or intuitively therapeutic knowledge of the power of the body to re-structure dis-synchronized rhythms and ward off bouts of depression by producing specific biochemical changes through strenuous physical activity?

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*See Foulks (1972), Condon (1983), and Landy (1983).

However, before the manifest function can be interpreted in terms of plausible bio-psychogenic factors, or the individual's physiological condition that promotes increased feelings for dancing, an understanding of the effects of extreme "photo periodism" linked to nutritional deprivation must first be considered. A summary review of Arctic Hysteria Theory provides the necessary background for a discussion of how climatic influences might have influenced the desire to dance.

Climatic Influences: Arctic Hysteria Theory*

Studies by Foulks (1972) and Condon (1983) explain how the body's various and vital physiological systems (temperature, respiration, blood sugar, protein metabolism, etc.) are altered in the course of a twenty-four hour day. The master system of variable correlations between subsidiary systems, termed circadian rhythms, realizes optimal homeostasis when synchronized with the rhythms of the external environment. In the Arctic, however, the idiosyncrasies of polar lighting patterns disorients the individual's physiological regulative controls, causing them to 'run free;' i.e., become dis-synchronized. The periods of extreme dis-synchronization coincide with mid-winter darkness (approximately January) and perpetual mid-summer sun

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*The term describes a wide range of behavior associated with neurological dysfunction in late winter and early spring.

(approximately July). Although solstice mood changes are noted during periods of both complete darkness and complete lightness, it is in mid-winter, a period of prolonged darkness, that the greatest negative impact is felt on physical and mental health. (The main effect of this impairment is depression.)

Condon (1983:132-133) suggests that the late winter and early spring are periods of dis-synchronization because the effects of solar lighting are cumulative, and during these seasons they have sufficient time to build in the body. The resultant physiological stress is related to changes in the body's ability to absorb calcium, a mineral which is metabolized by Vitamin D_3, the production of which is dependent on ultraviolet light. Without a balanced intake of calcium and Vitamin D_3 the central nervous system cannot function normally. If calcium levels are not maintained, anxiety and depression occur. For especially susceptible individuals, the accumulated physiological effects constitute a clinical syndrome called Arctic Hysteria.*

Landy (1983) proposes that this disruption of circadian rhythms during late winter and early spring is due not only to calcium deficiency but also to an excessive intake of Vitamin A. He argues that in late winter and early spring the Arctic animals that constitute the major part of the Inuit diet are at their lowest weight and their livers at their smallest size. When an animal loses weight, its body loses its ability to distribute vitamins to the body as needed. Therefore, the liver's storage of vitamins, especially fat soluble Vitamin A, is at its highest point during this period.

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*Quoting studies by Wallace (1961) and Foulks (1972).

Although the effects of hypervitaminosis A have been noted in Inuit who have eaten excessive amounts of bear and dog liver, the consumption of seal liver, a favorite among the Inuit, did not appear to produce ill effects. However, the dosage is estimated as high as half of that of the polar bear. Still, in late winter and early spring the damaging effects of poisonous toxins derived from excessive amounts of seal liver can conceivably manifest bouts of depression.*

Although a precise relationship between polar lighting and severe nutritional changes affecting biochemical levels and resulting activity patterns has not been precisely indicated, conclusive scientific observation does maintain that Arctic people experience unusual demands in activity patterns, mental functions, mood changes, and even susceptibility to infectious diseases during solstice seasons (Condon 1981:133).

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*The therapeutic effect of dancing related to symptomatic relief for victims was first proposed by Backman (1952). His theory suggests and association between the dancing epidemics of the Middle Ages and the possibility of alkaloid poisoning from a rye fungus (ergot).

Specifically, because there is a promotional/calendric season to drum dance, this fact, when viewed within the interplay of environmental and social agents, gives credence to the theory that both the frequency of drum dance occurrences and the prominence of certain universal, seasonal themes are attributable, in part, to environmental factors.

C. THE DRUM DANCE PERFORMANCE SEASON

Early Fall:

Light - Dark Homeostasis

In the early months of fall (August and September) periods of light and darkness are almost equal. Traditionally, during this season hunting increased and the quest for game generally dominated Inuit life.

In the Iglulik area a split between younger and older hunters also occurred in the early fall. During this period the older men stayed at the coast and hunted in pairs or groups of threes, while the youth moved inland in search of caribou (Mathiassen, 1928:243; Damas 1971:46). Because these exploitative patterns emphasized separation, they therefore reduced the number of opportunities to re-affirm social ties through drum dance occasions. In late fall, then, the drum dances occurred after the peak hunting season - "when the young people came back to join the older people who kept the drum at camp" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987).

Late Fall/Early Winter: Increasing Night

As fall progresses, protracted periods of darkness are evident (approximately mid-November). Traditionally, the main economic activity in late fall was the caching of stores of meat and a general accumulation of supplies, making this season a time of plenty for the Inuit. Moreover, since hunting could not be resumed until the freezing of the lakes and seas, the resultant period of reduced activity meant that the feasibility of drum dancing increased.*

The gathering of these nomad populations in large winter aggregations suggests a trade-fair atmosphere since if offers abundant opportunities for competitive rivalries. Accordingly, combative entertainments linked to themes of social control and conformity would appear to be emphasized. Also, social themes related to unity and solidarity are suggested since the gathering of large winter aggregations stress a cooperative ideology required for exploitative hunting patterns. The latter is particularly important in breathing-hole sealing and hunting large sea mammals at the floe edge, since successful execution is dependent upon a large number of hunters.* The curious relationship between co-operation and competition is explained by Cavanagh (1982:60) who maintains that hunting seals at breathing holes was both a co-operative subsistence activity and a way in which individuals could demonstrate their prowess. In this light, "drum dancing reinforced rivalries and provided a hunter with a parade of his success or established his worth in spite of his failures in the hunt" (Cavanagh 1982:60). As such, the drum dance served to re-integrate the social community since successful hunters were given special prestige/status, and unsuccessful hunters were allowed to share in their accomplishments.

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*This is alluded to by Damas (1984:402) when he states that "during the sewing period ... communal eating and gift-giving of meat were both important." Similarly, Rasmussen (1931:508) reports that amongst the Netsilik the "was the time of year when meat supplies were most prolific. A couple of strenuous months had been got through, and so this was the time for enjoying their wealth, idling about, and holding song festivals night after night.

Shamanistic activities associated with "good omens" would also link the dance with the creation and divination of religio-magico themes. Boas (1886:195) relates that

> when late in the fall storms rage
> over the land ... when the loosened
> floes are driven one against the other
> and break up with loud crashes,
> when cakes of ice are piled up in
> wild disorder, one upon the other,

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*Although the number of breathing holes kept open by an individual seal is not known, Damas (1966:51) estimates that for successful hunting a camp size of as many as 200 and not less than 50 was required.

> the Eskimo believes he hears the
> voices of spirits which inhabit the
> mischief laden air.

In Alaska the term for November, *kiyiviluiq* , identifies a religio-magico function since the terms literally means "a time when the shaman gets busy with his drum" (T. Johnston 1976:5).

Taken together, the universal themes of social control and conformity, social unity and solidarity, and religio-magico power (associated with the shaman) characterize the drum dance events as both 'serious' and 'fun.' Perhaps it is this range of functions and related themes during late fall and early winter that identifies this period as the time for drum dancing, par excellence.

Late Winter and Early Spring: Darkness and the Return of the Sun

At the height of the dark period (approximately mid-January) twilight exists for only one or two hours in the middle of the day. Accordingly, very little active hunting or breathing-hole sealing could be carried out. Thus the strenuous activities associated with a nomadic lifestyle gradually reduced. Ultimately, the hunter's activity was limited to a strict daily schedule of chores such as repairing equipment, fetching ice, feeding dogs, or helping the wives scrape caribou skins.

Since the prolonged period of darkness and the concomitant reduction of activity disrupted circadian rhythms and caused biochemical changes associated with states of lethargy, the general motivation to stage drum dance events was also apparently reduced. This is alluded to by informants who state that in late winter (approximately February) dances were infrequent because "food was the number one priority" (Noah Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1986).

However, we should also remember that "drum dancing was for both the good times and the bad" (A. Seewoe, Eskimo Point, 1987). Thus, although the frequency of drum dance occasions in late winter were reduced, the vital role of dance to act as a mechanism to overcome lethargy and depression appears to have been significantly heightened. Thus it can be speculated that the already extreme degree of stress resulting from long hours of confinement and close proximity as well as when the factors of prolonged cold and nutritional deprivation determined in part the feasibility of drum dance occurrence.

The experienced disorientation of circadian rhythms produced by these factors would appear to have produced drum dancing aimed at cathartic effect; the religio-magico theme associated with a cleansing of the spirit and reanimation of the will. The general susceptibility to mental stress in late winter and early spring is corroborated by Inuit terminology. The term *quivitoq* denotes the detrimental psychological effect that plagues individuals at this time of year. Landy (1983 :23) suggests that the term's meaning of an overstrained state of mind may be equivalent to a textbook definition of Arctic Hysteria. Similarly, the term *humaluq* refers to notions of worry, tension, stress or restlessness associated with prolonged darkness (Condon 1981).

Although the cathartic effects of the drum dance may be viewed simply as a means to release pent-up energies or neutralize the body's tensions through soothing repetitive two-phase actions, I advocate a more complex notion of the power of strenuous physical activity to actually re-structure dis-synchronized rhythms. Thus, I contend that traditionally drum dancing served as an overcoming mechanism because of its physically uplifting effect; the well-being derived from strong muscular exertion and the concomitant stimulation of deep muscle sensory endings. In brief, it is this deep level excitation of the sympathetic nervous system which effectively counters depression. Although a theory that extended dance activity increases the circulation of blood carrying oxygen to the muscles and brain and that emotional highs are caused by the release of endorphines into the blood stream is not new,* the importance of drum dancing as a marathon event as well as the factor of psychological fear supports the argument that hyperstress effects were indeed operating. Rasmussen (1932:30) records that amongst the Copper "a man can act as a singer, drummer and dancer at the same time ... often *an hour or more* at a stretch."

Spring: Light-Dark Homeostasis

Not surprisingly, excitement and joy are the most commonly reported effects of dance occasions in the early spring. Although the physiological effects of accumulated dis-synchronized rhythms may impact strongly upon susceptible individuals, the array of behavioral changes evident in this season are generally attributed to 'spring fever.' Perhaps, a more plausible description of spring and its effects is offered by one of my informants:

> With the coming of the light we knew
> that we had survived the hardest part.
> Everything is in a good spirit. Good
> things are happening.
> (N. Piuqaatuq, Iglookik, 1987)

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[*] See Kealiinohomoku (1981:133) for the development of this theory, and Hanna (1981) for a discussion of dance and stress.

As light-dark patterns begin to balance, the unstable system of environmental factors also moves towards a more benign homeostasis. Traditionally, with the restoration of access to the land, transient populations began to increase, the exploitative patterns returned activity to normal,* and most Inuit communities received an increase in visitors to camp. Accordingly, it is logical to assume that at drum dance events during this season cathartic themes would be de-emphasized in favor of themes related to the maintenance of social solidarity, social control, and conformity.

Gradually, as traditional residential patterns again fragmented the periods of prolonged and intense social contact decreased. Moreover, small skin-shaped tents replaced the larger igloo dwellings. Specifically, in Igloolik, the last spring dance was recalled as taking place within a foundation "perhaps three feet high with a seal skin tent covering the enclosure" (Emile Immaroittuq Igloolik, 1986).**

However, as the days lengthen and the solar radiation becomes warmer, access to the land increases. In consequence, traditional occasions for drum dancing were reduced and eventually, near the end of May, the bodies which might otherwise have been moving in the dance became moving bodies on the land. The favored winter pastimes of song, dance, and game were replaced by more individual and small group activities, such as hiking, camping, berry picking, hunting small game, and fishing.*

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*Stefansson (1913:169-170) refers to the establishment of locations for breathing-hole sealing within a five mile radius from camp; "the limit of a normal day's activities, including the walks to and from the sealing grounds and camp" (Damas 1966:51).

**The Inuktut word for snow-house is igluviqak.

The following diagram (Table 13) encapsulates the drum dance season and summarizes the hypothesis concerning an emphasis upon predominate dance themes during certain months of the calendar year. The resultant schedule illustrates that, in essence, celebrative occasions were traditionally linked to the logistics of everyday life. Thus calendric dates for the drum dance reflect the importance of environmental and social changes affecting the *whole* group. (This is distinct from societies that celebrate the importance of the individual through rites of passage, associated with birth, puberty, marriage or funerals.)** In short, dance preceived as a creative coping mechanism stresses the role of dance as a "rite of transformation."

Finally, my consideration of manifest function enables me to suggest affirmative answers to the following speculative questions. Does the moderate incessant symmetrical beat of Inuit drum represent the sustained effort required to traditionally survive in the Arctic; the durational organization rhythm and of moderate pace symbolizing a persistent willingness to overcome environmental stress factors? Does the power of the dance traditionally associate with overcoming lethargy; the winter season reflecting in part a folk knowledge of the body to increase physical activity for purposes of reducing physical and social stress? Does the significance of dance in spring time correspond with a return to normal levels of activity; the increased awareness of felt rhythms expressed in the dance symbolically conveying the promised renewal of vital energies? Does the virtual disappearance of the dance in the late spring and the early summer reflect the importance of the land and concomitant degree of individual freedom from months of intensified group control? Although environmental influences may not be consciously understood or even perceived, an examination of these factors in Inuit drum dance supports Kealiinohomoku's (1976:159) statement that "environmental features will surely influence dance styles and dynamics in several ways."

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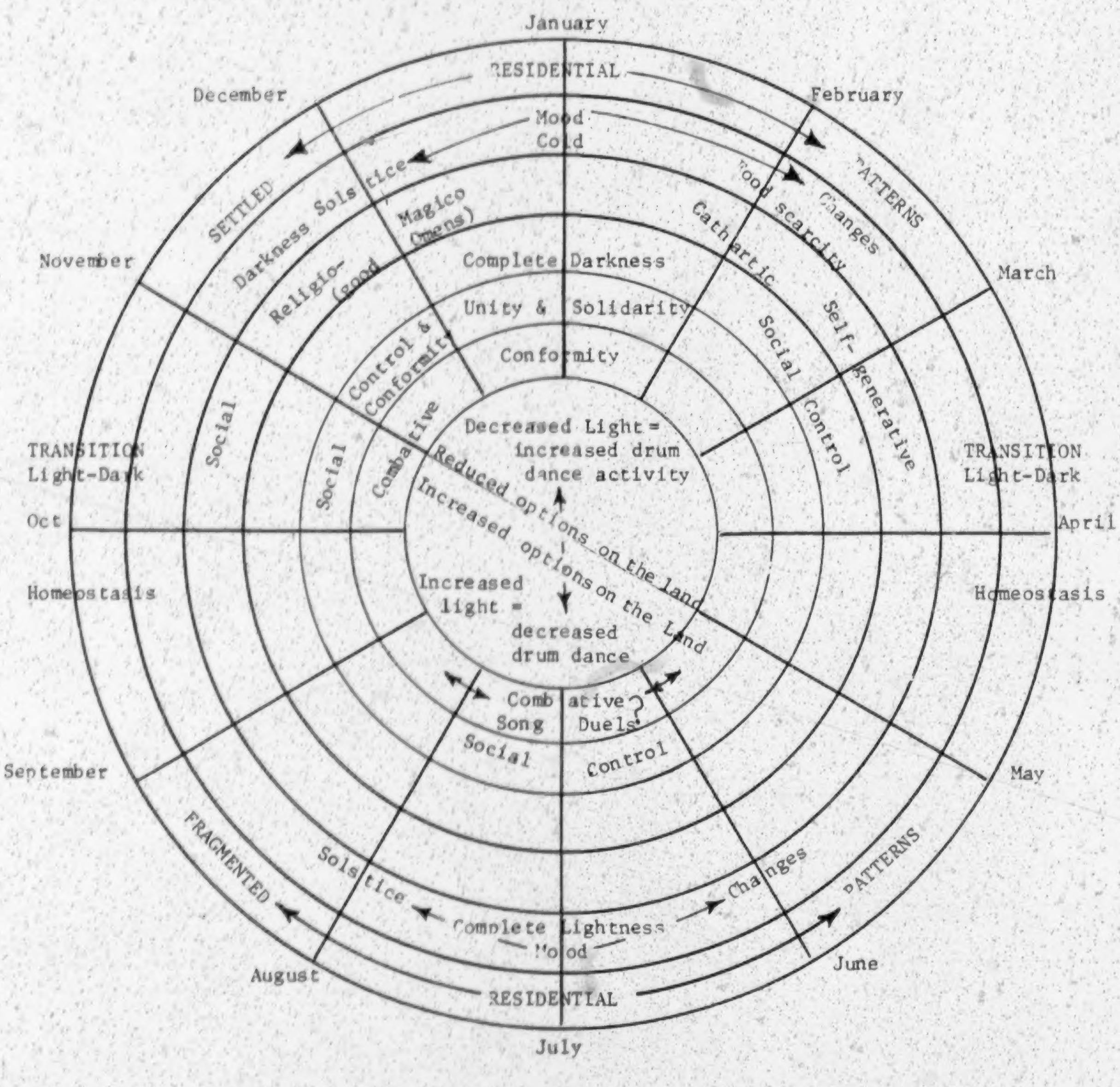
*Damas (1984:400) refers to the aboriginal summer settlement pattern as an "evanescent hunting group."

**See Van Gennep's (1908) classic categorization of ritual in which he distinguishes between societies that stress celebrative occasion in terms of the group and societies that stress individual rites of passage.

Table 13. CALENDRIC INUIT DRUM DANCE:
TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS
AFFECTING DRUM DANCE OCCURRENCE AND INFLUENCING UNIVERSAL DANCE THEMES


January
RESIDENTIAL
Mood
Cold
February
PATTERNS
Changes
Food scarcity
Cathartic
Self-generative
Social
Control
March
TRANSITION
Light-Dark
April
Homeostasis
May
June
PATTERNS
Changes
Complete Lightness
Mood
RESIDENTIAL
July
August
FRAGMENTED
Solstice
September
Homeostasis
Oct
TRANSITION
Light-Dark
November
SETTLED
Darkness Solstice
December
Religio-Magico
(good Omens)
Social
Control &
Conformity
Social
Combative
Complete Darkness
Unity & Solidarity
Conformity
Decreased Light =
increased drum
dance activity
Reduced options on the land
Increased options on the Land
Increased
light =
decreased
drum dance
Combative
Song Duels?
Social
Control

CHAPTER IV. THE MINIMAL SETTING FACTORS

INTRODUCTION

In the following two chapters my focus of inquiry shifts to analyze the minimal and 'core' setting factors that represent the occasion structure. In the current chapter I will employ familiar journalistic questions to identify the traditional conditions of time, place, and personnel/ agency. In the next chapter I consider the participants' knowledge or conceptual rules related to the drum and song idiom as well as the actual procedural process of participants to manifest drum dance event. The result of this investigation is a presentation of the relatively fixed conditions out of which the whole drum dance unfolds. These are generally referred to as settings and procedures. Thus, although Part IV proceeds to concentrate upon actual performances, what is revealed here is that drum dance occasion is characterized by a variety of external and internal features fluctuating in accordance with specific purposes and circumstances. However, these general features determine drum dance characteristics within specific structural limits. Indeed, it is this normative structure that marks the drum dance as distinctively Inuit. In order to define this structure, the central question to be asked is: what are the requirements necessary for manifesting performance? Specifically, in this chapter I will consider the complex combination of factors related to leadership, authority, participants, proper physical space, the time, and conventional spatial arrangements without which the drum dance cannot occur. Furthermore, this inquiry into minimal requirements will also reveal how the normative structure of the drum dance mirrors the traditional life of the Inuit.

A. THE CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP, TIME, AND PARTICIPANT NUMBERS

Although local groups could be headed by an influential man (isumataq), "no overall leadership was known to the traditional Inuit" (Damas 1966)*. The drum dance occasion, as a microcosm of the larger society was historically guided by temporary leadership, usually a person of age and prominent personality. The skills required to co-ordinate a drum dance were actually analogous to those required in the hunt or in the organization and administration of a large family unit.

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*Birket-Smith (1959:145) explains the meaning of the word as "he who thinks, the implication being he who thinks for others ... and if for some reason or other he lose his authority he merely resumes his former position."

But, the leadership of the drum dance remained a non-hereditary position, and the dance itself was always spontaneously convened in response to specific and variable circumstances.

There were, of course, typical circumstances that would almost automatically generate events. For example, a traditional time of plenty and an abundance of everything was often accompanied by drum dancing (Rasmussen 1929:228). Guests, sometimes whole camps, would be invited to share in a community's good fortune. Rasmussen (1929:228) notes that the abundance of animal fat served to provide enough fuel to keep the lamps burning, making the gathering place thoroughly festive.* In this context, Rasmussen (1929:241) distinguishes between the song/dance festivals of the Iglulingmuit and those of the Aivilingmuit** since the former were characterized by "many people ... and an abundance of walrus meat." But drum dancing was not always a large communal affair. Less formal occasions were also frequent. However, these too were animated by traditional Inuit hospitality and resembled an open house where any one desiring a bite of food might indulge (Rasmussen 1932:129). Furthermore, although these gathering times could occur at any time of day, the preferred time was generally the latter part of the day - "after the hunt and when an evening meal might be prepared" (Joe Patterk, Rankin Inlet, 1987).

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*Lyon (1970:284) specifically refers to "when a whale was killed or any great and joyous occasion."

**Repulse Bay area.

Large scale festive events could last as long as three or four days. These were often staged to coincide with the arrival or departure of several guests. Rasmussen (1929:230) records a drum dance in the Iglulik area that lasted fourteen to sixteen hours. He also witnessed a drum dance event of comparable length in the Copper area (1932). Here the festivities attended the departure of new friends and began at 10 a.m. and lasted not "merely through a day, but the night as well."

Several informants also recalled celebrative occasions that stopped at midnight and resumed again the following afternoon or evening. Sometimes stormy weather promoted a day-long session as distinct from the customary evening performance. Still, in general, festive occasions occurred only during periods or seasons when the community was not preoccupied with survival tasks. Normally, these occurred when people were able to rejoice "over their good fortune or in stormy weather when hunters were confined to their huts" (Jenness, 1922:221).

The duration of these events reflects the co-operative Inuit value to accommodate everyone who wants to take a turn in song/dance presentation. Since throughout the Central Arctic, drum dance performance has always entailed the central action sequence of a single drum dancer moving into the core space and dancing to a song composition sung by lead and chorus singers, the total program length has varied in accordance with the number of would-be performers within the assembled audience. Accordingly, the length of a drum dance is dependent upon the varied sizes associated with settings both private and public. The Inuit generally distinguished between these two types of settings by referring to "when families get together" and "when the whole camp comes together." Obviously, a drum dance comprising several families in a large igloo required less time than an occasion manifested by large numbers of people gathered within the great ceremonial igloo, or qaggi.

Although a mean performance length of three hours can be estimated from the explorer Amundsen's account of a Netsilik drum dance (1905, II:26) and Stefansson's description (circa 1910) of a Copper drum dance lasting from afternoon until 8 p.m. (1964:122) many contemporary informants stressed the importance of an open time frame. When drum dance event is consistently re-called as "lasting over several hours," what is actually emphasized is the fact that the conclusion of the event is not determined by formal, external rules, but rather by a general consensus among participants that the beneficial results of drum dancing have reached their own conclusion. Succinctly defined by one informant,* "the end of drum dancing occurs when the people are too tired to be happy ... when they have run out of energy and everyone (who desires to dance) has had a turn." As in all aspects of Inuit life, overriding principles of practicality apply.**

The duration of individual performance demonstrates the same informal time features associated with the entire drum dance event. Thus, although the length of individual performances corresponds directly to the length of the song or songs being sung, this duration is also free from formal or fixed ritual requirements. Accordingly, a full and irregular range of times associated with single performances is recorded. Ethnographic documents mention that "the strongest performance dance lasted about four minutes each" (D. Marsh 1946:20). Hall expands this to ten to thirteen minute (1879:99), Amundsen to twenty minutes (1905, II:25), and Rasmussen mentions a Copper dance that lasted "an hour or more" (1932:139).

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*Noah Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987.

**The primary of this principle is emphasized by Margaret Lantis' (1959:45) recognition that Inuit experience is subjected to the "requirements of a rigorous do-it-right or die environment."

Although their reports refer to different regions (Eskimo Point, Repulse Bay, Gjoa Haven and Igloolik, respectively), the extreme range suggests that the variablity in time is due to a variability in the rationale behind the observed occasion; the length apparently directly linked to combative functions, or the degree to which drum dance represented a trial of strength and endurance, or religio-magico concerns.

Since attendance at drum dance occasions traditionally varied in accordance with the fluctuating size of the hunting group, the ceremonial gathering can only be estimated in accordance with the population of the economic unit. Specifically, although winter aggregations in the Iglulik area were generally large, "over 100 and perhaps up to 150" and smaller family groups of "ten or thirty existed apart", staged events were reflective of these numbers (Damas 1966:51). Similarly, in the Copper region Rasmussen (1932:124) records a drum dance that "easily numbered sixty people," and Stefansson (1964:121) cites a dance accommodating forty people. In the Repulse Bay area, Hall (1879:96) records drum dance occurring with attendance numbers of twenty-five people. Balikci (1970:130) similarly quotes a Pelly Bay informant (circa 1915) who related that twenty hunters composed the ceremonial unit.

However, a reduced ceremonial and economic unit appears to have been characteristic of the Keewatin coastal region, since an Eskimo Point informant (Eric Anoee, 1987) recalls ten families as a sufficient number for drum dancing. But his addendum that "rarely would we dance with two or three families suggests that the fragmentation of population into smaller economic units made it difficult to assemble sufficient manpower for the dance.* In brief, on the basis of these statistics and presupposing that economic and ceremonial units represent dimensions of the same populations, the number of persons comprising a typical drum dance can be classified as an extended family that was either 1) relatively small; i.e., below a dozen to twenty-five people, or 2) relatively large, numbering between approximately fifty to a hundred or more.

B. THE PARTICIPANT'S ROLE/STATUS

Although attendance at traditional drum dances generally involved all members of Inuit society -- men, women, adolescents, and children -- only men, women and male adolescents actually performed. Traditionally, in the Central Arctic the events tended to orientate towards displaying the superordinate strength of the male drum dancer, while at the same time apparently stressing the indispensible cooperation exemplified in the women's singing roles. Nattiez (1979:5) states that in the Iglulik area "it never was a question of the women dancing with drum." Similarly, amongst the Caribou, Rasmussen (1930:70) and Birket-Smith (1929:270) report that women neither composed or danced unless invited by a shaman.* But in the Copper area of the Central Arctic, Cavanagh (1982:32) reports that male dominance gives way to an equality of sexes. Accordingly, in this region it was not unusual for both women and men to perform in both song and dance.

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*The ethnomusicologist T. Johnston (1977:65) suggests the difficulty of sufficient numbers to develop ceremony in an Arctic environment. He states that "an emphasis upon a solo drum dancer may be due to the difficulty of getting large numbers of busy hunters to stop hunting and to gather together in one place for a sufficient period to permit extensive musical organization and a degree of musical ceremonialism."

Specifically, in the Central Arctic the role of young women appears to have been limited not only because of the strength required to wield a relatively heavy drum (approximately two to four pounds) but because they were often required to care for younger children, both at home in the family igloo and at the qaggi (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1986). Also, they were traditionally assigned the duty of looking after the lamp. Rasmussen (1932:129) describes a festive Copper occasion where "a number of young girls who had undertaken to look after the lamps then stood upon the bed-sitting platform and took the part of the gallery, watching the progress of festivities with evident curiosity."

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*Flexible norms, however, did exist since Rasmussen explains further that when the spirit permits women to express themselves in song, they are guaranteed a long life.

Also at the drum dance, participants are perceived as composing a fluid population. "The people may come and go," says an informant (Alice Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986). Traditionally, in the Central Canadian Arctic spatial arrangements generally required that the "females have a seat apart" (Lyon 1970:225). Moreover, in Lyon's experience the "conduct of both sexes was extremely decorous;" the mood of serious attentiveness extending even to a "lively four-year old boy, since when it came my turn to exhibit drum dance, the little fellow sat down with the greatest solemnity to witness my performance" (Lyon 1970:90).

In contrast to the role of young women, young men were granted the right of entry into the dance. An Iglulik informant (N. Piuqaatuq, 1986) succinctly stated the young man's age and skill requirement: "if he was old enough to hunt, he was old enough to dance." In general, age also related to prestige and status since in Inuit society the older the person, the more proven one's competence in everyday skills. Moreover, active old age meant that an individual was endowed with a quality of isuma or spirit of wisdom which was acquired gradually and through constant striving. The procedural format for taking turns at the drum dance, described as "first the older men, then the strong young men " (Annie Seewoe, Eskimo Point, 1987) reflects this hierarchy of seniority and respect.*

C. THE PROPER PERFORMANCE SPACE

In general, the spatial arrangements of the traditional drum dance were adapted to the interior architecture of the dwelling space.** Although the size and complexity of the performance space obviously varied in accordance with the season and the size of the expected gathering, the construction of a snow-house remained everywhere the same. It was "built from the inside and normally as the sun goes from East to West (Hawkes 1916:59).*** In the first phase, one man generally cuts the blocks * and another builds (see Appendix III:6). Gradually, as the first round of blocks were laid and tiers of blocks were fitted and trimmed to wind in a spiral with a decreasing curve, a domed edifice with a dugout floor emerged. Inside the house, a two to three foot high bank of snow formed the bed-sitting platform at the rear and/or the sides of the igloo.

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*An Eskimo Point informant, forty years earlier, similarly explained to the Anglican missionary D. Marsh (1946:20), "the old (men) first ... the young lads drum last."

**Birket-Smith (1929:271) informs us that amongst the Caribou Inuit, "it is contrary to religious habit and custom to beat the drum in the open air. When I wanted a man to demonstrate the use of the drum outside the tent in order that I might photograph it, he was willing enough to go through the motions, but he was careful not to touch the drum with the stick."

***It is interesting to note that the movement pattern in building a snowhouse, that is, the "stop and go" movements in a curved and normally clockwise path are not unlike the movement phrasing employed in drum dancing.

A larger but similar floor plan was used for the ceremonial qaqqi. Historical records report that although the ceremonial structure can be much larger than the dimensions of a large igloo, in some cases the dance house may not differ greatly from the dimensions of an extended dwelling. Although the following Table summarizes igloo dimensions, it should be recognized that the actual enclosed core space is slightly less than the diameter dimensions since participants form a ring around the solo drum dancer. The diameter of the circular floor space in a large igloo ranged from nine to sixteen feet, in contrast to a range of twenty to seventy feet in a qaqqi.

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* Approximately 3-4 feet long, 2 feet high, and 6-8 inches thick (Neatby 1984:394).

TABLE 14. THE VARIED DIMENSIONS OF IGLOO SPACE

Cited by:	THE LARGE IGLOO	THE CEREMONIAL IGLOO Qaqqi	Cited by:
Balikci 1970:63	Extended Netsilik family dwelling Diameter: 9-15 feet Height: "slightly over 6 feet"	Cumberland Sound Diameter: 20 feet Height: 15 feet	Boas 1886:192
Lyon 1970:72	Extended three-family Iglulik dwelling Diameter: 14-16 feet Height: 7 feet	Caribou Inuit (Qaernermuit) Diameter: 25 feet Height: 12 feet	Gilder, in Birket-Smith 1929:269
		Northern Quebec Diameter: 70 Feet (!) Height: 16 feet	Hawkes 1916:59
		Copper Dance House Diameter: 18 feet Height: 9 feet (He specifically refers to a 5-foot dancing space in the centre.)	Stefansson 1904:121

Other reports mention dance houses constructed with permanent stone foundations, and in reference to favorite fall meeting places. Boas (1888:193) refers to the qaqqi structure in the Cumberland Sound area Kingnait as possessing the "same plan as the snow structure," and suggests that it was "covered with a snow roof when it was in use." Lyon (1879:284) refers to a permanent stone qaqqi structure near the Fury Strait in the Iglulik area (Pamees Point), but suggests that skin tents covered the enclosure. He recognized the spot as a "piece of Eskimau antiquity" (1970:284), and describes the enclosed space as follows:

> The surrounding wall was of large heavy pieces of limestone, and about three feet in height; the enclosed space about fifteen feet in diameter, and at the foot of the wall, large square blocks of lime which three or four men would hardly lift, were very regularly placed in an exact circle as a bench. The upper surface of these stones was worn quite smooth, and in some places bore a polish from constant use. In the center of the place stood one large stone, also worn, which appeared as if intended as a seat for the dancer who is within the circle, to rest upon.

Since Lyon refers to the permanent structure as "the only thing of the kind I ever saw in the country," it is probably the stone foundation Parry observed, diagrammed and identified as a "singing house" (see Appendix III:7d).

Although Balikci's (1970:62-63) description of a large ceremonial snow qaqqi does not include dimensions, his detailed description of its construction enables us to visualize the performance space.

> The dance house was a very large structure, erected several days after camp had been set, and requiring a joint effort. Usually the four foundation igloos had already been built into a necessary circle facing each other with an eye to the forthcoming construction of the festive hall. To build the dance house snow blocks were laid in a circle that included the front halves of four base igloos. As the dance house walls rose they came together in a typical beehive shape, topping the four foundation igloos at a height just below where the ice windows were placed. After the completion

> of the large building, the snow walls of the base igloo now inside the bigger structure were knocked down. Through these large openings one could easily observe the neighboring families. The whole architectural complex sheltered a social unit.

This description makes it clear that the large ceremonial house was also occupied as a living space, and the dance house was neither cold nor unattended but warm and comfortable. Furthermore, since circular spatial arrangements generally suggest an intimacy of informal space, we can easily imagine the respective places of the men standing round and the women sitting, on the warm skin robes that covered the bed-sitting platforms. Since a vaulted structure rose above the seating area, we should note that very effective wings or stage boxes were incorporated within the igloo design.

D. THE PROPER SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT

Historical accounts refer to drum dance events that seem close to variations of 'theatre in the round' performances. In the area of South Baffin Island, Boas (1886:192-193) describes the men (drum dancers) as "sitting" to form an inside circle and the women (singers) "standing" to create a double outside circle; the married women stood next to the wall and the unmarried women stood inside the outer female circle (see Appendix III:7b). The center space included a "snow pillar five feet high on which the lamps stood," and the drum dancer is described as "taking up his place in an open space next to the door."

Rasmussen (1929:240) observed a similar standing arrangement amongst the Iglulik. Participants are recorded as "standing in a circle, with the men inside and the women outside." However, the "one who beats the drum" occupies the centre, and on the whole the spatial arrangement appears to be less formal. Rasmussen also notes that in the larger qaggi it is the "fashion that the women kneel in a circle on the large raised platform of snow, while the men stand up out on the floor ... awaiting their turn for dance and song" (see Appendix III:2b).

In contrast to this account, several Eskimo Point informants recalled that when the women sat on the floor they formed the inner circle, and the men stepped from behind the women to enter the core space. Generally, however, the women's prescribed position implied a seated chorus on the bed-sitting platform.* In both the Iglulik and Eskimo Point regions, informants also mention that the men can sit as well as stand and at random points on the circumference.

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*The sitting position was described as any centered position, that is, cross-legged, long-sit, or folding the legs under in a kneeling position to sit on the feet.

In Amundsen's account (1905, II:24) it appears that among the Netsilik a standing solo drum dancer shared the visual centre with seated singers arranged in a semi-circle. The formation of a semi-circle is suggested by the account's reference to "snow blocks set up in the centre of the floor - the blocks arranged in a circle ... and twenty women who sat down in a row" (1905, II:24). Although a spatial division appears here, the description of a double centre comprising a solo man and a semi-circle of seated women suggests a symbolic centre representing collaboration and equality between the sexes.

In general, despite the varying spatial arrangements and the standard symbolic interpretations of the space which stress sexual division, the man's dominant physical presence,* and the women's subsidiary seated position, I contend that the circle formation is of primary importance. In brief, I maintain that in Inuit society the unity of the circle symbolizes egalitarian principles, not only because all participants gather vis a vis one another and equally share a visual centre, but also because all individual participation is equally subordinate to the centre itself. In short, neither men nor women dominate the action. That right is given to the structural and thematic centre of the event and the social reality that surrounds it.*

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*Emphasized by standing and dancing in the centre.

The space-size ratio is another important factor. Informants describe personal space as "uncrowded," or as offering "plenty of room." Since different individuals are expected to enter the centre and circulate their distinct energies through the room, personal space is an especially significant requirement. After all, the drum dance features individuals contributing their resources to the whole group, and is, as such, a celebration of the individual. Still, since at the same time the defined circumference of the circle makes it clear that the celebration occurs within the protective boundaries of the group, it is also important to realize that public or social space ultimately frames and houses personal space.

E. CONCLUSION

This discussion has attempted to offer the reader a general knowledge of the time, the place, the forum, and the participants as distinctive features of drum dance occasions. Obviously, the limited external structure exemplifies a characteristic flexibility. Table 15 summarizes the normative structures of drum dance occasion in terms of concepts related to leadership, time, place, and audience size. Table 16 offers a more detailed sketch of the participants, describing who the performers generally are in terms of their status, their gender, and their age (as well as being situated within a proper performance space). Beneath these social factors symbolic aspects of space are implied (Figure 8). To repeat my point, I argue that although customary divisions of the space indicate separate gender roles, the unity of circle formations strongly asserts the higher significance of the collaborative unit, and actually objectifies the higher principle of reciprocal equality between the sexes. In brief, this chapter identifies only the minimal traditional setting concepts. Accordingly, the structural norms of traditional drum dance occasion provide a mere scaffolding to the complex and multi-dimensional aspects of the performance context.

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*This is in keeping with Lantis' (1946:118) understanding of Inuit personality where power is not in oneself, but rather is externalized.

Table 15.

THE GENERAL NORMS OF STRUCTURAL SETTING:
Identifying
The Fluctuating Circumstances of:

Leadership	Time - - - - - -	Place	Size/Number
1. Informal = Spontaneously Convened. Influenced by social and environment factors.	1. The Drum Dance occasion = a seasonal cadence stressing Late Fall, Early Winter, Early Spring Associated with: a time of plenty inviting guests stormy weather the departure of families into smaller units, i.e. springtime joy and happiness	Private and public settings Large Igloo or Ceremonial Igloo	Ceremonial unit = economic unit
	2. The Duration of Event Associated with: - total festive time, i.e. periods of continuous celebration 14-16 hours ⟷ 3-4 days	Relatively small ⟷	Relatively large
	- Time not required for survival i.e. a period in late afternoon and/or evening 3 hours ⟷ several hours	below a dozen to 25 or more	Below 50 to 100 or more
	- Program Time = sum total of individuals "taking turns" i.e. each individual song/dance performance teams lasting 4,.... 10, ... 20 minutes		

Table 16.

THE GENERAL NORMS OF STRUCTURAL SETTING:
Identifying
The Performance Personnel and Proper Space

I. The Performance Personnel

1. Performance Event = a co-performance team, performing in complementary and simultaneous roles
   to produce rhythmic patterns in sound and movement.

2. The Performer's Role = a solo drum dancer represented by men and young males;
   lead and chorus singing roles performed by women.

3. The Performer's Status = non-hereditary, non-professional
   i.e. The factors of gender, strength, age and personality considered primary.
   Stresses the male right of entry;
   i.e. Gender and age explained as "old enough to hunt (then) old enough to
   dance," or "first the older men, then the strong young men."

4. The Spectator audience = collected representatives of the entire community.
   i.e. young women and children as well as performers waiting their turn.

II. The Proper Space

1. Indoor setting = traditionally, the comfortable space of the snowhouse.
2. The circular arrangement = informal but intimate space (the space/size ratio is uncrowded).
3. The varied dimensions of core performance space
   i.e. the igloo space = the lived-in family space; 9-16 feet in diameter.
   the ceremonial igloo = a special song/dance space of 25-70 feet in diameter.
4. The Spectator/Audience space = sitting and/or standing
   The Seating arrangements = sitting on the floor and/or the bed-sitting platforms;
   the latter analogous to stage boxes.
5. The division of space based on gender.
6. A flexible use of space characterized by
   - participants coming and going
   - participants drawing near and away from the central action of performance.

Figure 8. THE UNITY OF THE CIRCLE IN INUIT DRUM DANCE EVENT

Suggested Symbolism Stressing

CO-OPERATIVE INDIVIDUALISM

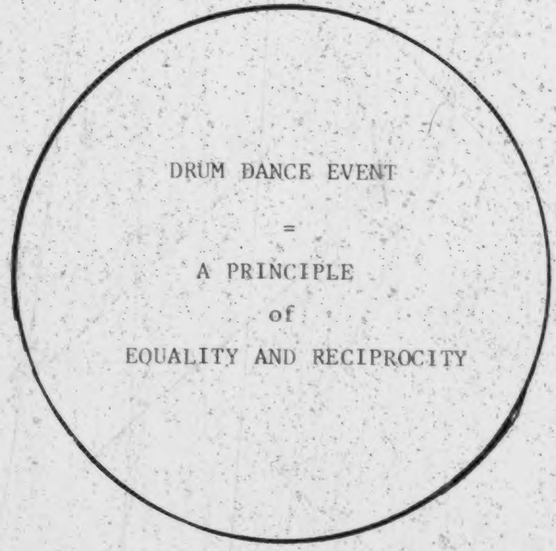
THE CIRCUMFERENCE

Co-operative - Egalitarianism

- Participants sitting or standing vis a vis one another at random points

- The supportive role of women singers seated round define the communal boundaries of event.

- The perception that personal individual space is ultimately framed by public/social space.



THE SHARED VISUAL CENTRE

Co-operative - Individualism

The celebration of the individual:
- the dancer's physically dominant presence stressing the superordinate strength of the male/hunter.

- the notion of individuals circulating energies through a shared centre.

Co-operation:
- the centre is commonly shared: by taking turns.

- the notion of individuals being subordinate to the group.

THE DIVISION OF SPACE
By Gender:
Co-operative - Individualism

- The separate but complementary roles of the men and women.
- The requirement of a co-performance team emphasizes that neither sex is dominant.

PART III. ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER V. THE CORE SETTING FACTORS

INTRODUCTION

Complementary to the previous chapter, this chapter expands my investigation to include (1) the relevant ideology associated with the drum dance performance and (2) the actual participant procedures necessary to manifest a successful performance. Similar to the last chapter, the approach underlines the basic assumption that the performance situation is informed by a set of expectations, communally shared. However, this chapter offers an indigenous perspective of the theoretical aspects of drum and song, as well as a consideration of the participant rules and regulations required to manifest event. In other words, in order for drum dancing to be correctly practiced, perception is informed with a theoretical, almost reverential, knowledge of the drum and song idiom as well as the practical procedures that guide the performer through a range of possible options. In short, the power of drum dance is enhanced because the perception relates that outward form correlates with a complex inner life.

Specifically, consideration of standard drum dance proecedures directs attention to evaluative criteria. In order to investigate a theory of practice, the inquiry begins with questions as to what is the organizational format? who dances? who makes the song? who leads the song? In addition, because a characteristic range of flexibility is associated with normative drum dance structures, a complex set of options must also be considered. Thus, a full understanding of core setting factors entails asking the further evaluative questions: who else can lead the song? does the drum dancer only dance or can he also sing? how many songs comprise a song/dance presentation? Prior to investigating these participant procedures, however, an ideology of drum and song is examined.

A. THE DRUM IDIOM

The Performance Instrument

Normally the presentation of a song was accompanied with both drum and dance. The instrument is a hand-held open framed drum with a wooden handle, and a proportionately large frame hoop (approximately one and a half to three or four feet in diameter) and a drumhead normally made of caribou skin. As an object, it is obviously impressive in size. Perhaps more significant is the fact that all its component parts can only be procured with a fair degree of difficulty. Seasonal runs of caribou generally supplied the membrane, but "skin of seal, wolf or bladder of white whale" could also be used* (Nattiez 1979:17). Traditionally wood was a rare and precious commodity in the Arctic, required not only for the drum but for such important items as kayak frames, sleds, hunting equipment and domestic utensils. It was generally acquired through trade.** In the Iglulik region, as Damas (1963:19) informs us, a shortage of wood often made "bone products necessary.*** Lyon (1979:91) records a children's drum "formed of whalebone and over this a thin skin or bladder is stretched." He reports seeing only two of these instruments both of which were children's toys (see Appendix III:8). In general, the making of a drum was considered a special craft, usually done by an older person in the community. (See Appendix VII for a description of the drum construction.)

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*Jenness (1922:222) amongst the Copper refers to a drum head made of polar bear skin.

**The absence of wood amongst the Netsilik caused its mysterious presence to be explained as coming from the "bottom of the sea, like seaweed torn loose by tremendous storms" (Carpenter 1973:122). Similarly, in the Melville Peninsula a lack of wood was "desperately felt" (Weyer 1969:14).

***The difficulty of hunting whales from Kayaks, the only watercraft used at Iglulik and Repulse Bay, "makes it seem likely that most of the bone ... came from the bodies of stranded whales, accumulated over the years" (Damas 1963:19).

The resultant scarcity of drums is recalled by an Igloolik informant who stated "a drum was rare ... when there was a drum in the gathering there was only one drum" (Emile Immaiaroitok 1986). However, the Inuit habit of sharing personal property, guaranteed its communal use.* Thus, although the drum might have been made by the labor of a single man, "he was not always the person that kept the drum ... a family who stayed in the camp most of the time would be the people keeping the drum ... the drum would be taken out when the people gathered (and then returned) again."** (Noah Piuqaatuq, Igloolik).

Also, requiring communal participation was the procedure of stretching the skinhead over the drum frame and twisting a heavy sinew round the rim; a task that often demanded the concerted effort of several men. The co-operative procedure consisted of one man (usually the instrument maker) sitting on the bed-sitting platform, with "one or two turns of the line about his body, which is encased in furred deer skins" (Hall 1879:97), and from this position guiding four or more other men who twisted and pulled taut the sinew around the frame in order that the skin might be stretched to the proper tension.*

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*Birket-Smith (1959:146) relates that "personal possession is conditional by actual use of the property; a man who is not using his fox trap must allow another man to set it."

**In explaining the drum's communal use, the informant also describes an Iglulik youth-age split in the fall. "During a part of the autumn the younger members of the extended family (usually pairs of brothers and their nuclear families) hunted caribou inland while the heads of the extended families hunted in pairs from points of land at the coast. These latter individuals were often connected by kinship ties, but not always" (Damas 1973:44).

The Metaphysical Qualities of the Drum

A good drum is more than the sum of its parts. Physically, it must be capable of filling space with a rumbling, vibrating sound, but traditionally it also possessed metaphysical properties that enabled the drum to "get in touch with the spirits apart from ordinary invocation" (Rasmussen 1929:228). The Iglulik word for drum, '_qilaut_,' means "that by which the spirits are called up. Similarly, amongst the Copper, the drum represented the ring around the sun (Rasmussen 1932:23), and could produce good omens. The powerful transformative sonorities of the "sun drum" were thought to guarantee that "something pleasant will happen" (Rasmussen 1932:23). In Alaska, as well, the anthropologist Margaret Lantis (1966:4) was informed, "the drum represented the world and enabled the shaman to travel all over the world."

Although these assertions associate the significance of the drum with the metaphysical plane, the magical quality of the drum also had influence in the temporal world. The drum's metaphysical qualities were believed to produce social changes. This is illustrated in Charron's (1978) study of stories about the drum drawn from three different areas. The stories tell of how the drum is conceived to be a vehicle of anti-structure, its transformational properties enabling the individual to be temporarily released from social restrictions related to conventional role status determined by age and sex, or from the established norms of marriage.

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*The word _sukattijut_ means "the stretching group" (Arna'naaq 1987:16).

A legend from North Labrador retold by the Inuit Rose Pamack (Petrone 1988:48-50) also illustrates the belief that drumming and singing allowed the individual to gain unprecedented powers through communication with the spirit world. The story recounts a day when hunters are off hunting and a defenceless village of women, children, and old people are threatened by a huge polar bear. An old man picks up the drum and begins to beat it gently, the beat described as the "gentle, regular breath of life." The sound hypnotizes and soothes the terrified villagers into sleep, but although the inhabitants are thereby offered protection and security, the sound of the drum is still answered by the "measured step of the white intruder ... each step a toll of death and destruction." The old man then chants an ancient song, described as the "most powerful tool of his ancestors, the ancient lore of milleniums ago when his ancestors learned the core of survival." Finally, with the cessation of the rhythm of drum and song, victory and safety are achieved. The bear is immobilized in mid-step and transformed into stone: "slowly he crumbled and scattered till all that was left was a pile of quartz fragments."

The legend goes on to explain that a rock in the shape of a polar bear can be seen in the Nain landscape "from a distance" and "on certain days." It is also said, poignantly perhaps, that it can only be seen by those among the new generations of young Inuit who believe in the powers of drum and song. (See Appendix VI: 3 for the full legend of Tikisiak.)

These tales of the metaphysical powers of the drum can also be made more palatable to the Western skeptic by adding that recent research into the regular schematic rhythms of the drum indicates that this instrument provides one of the most effective means for gaining access to the inner realms; its over-statement in rhythm enabling participants to achieve discreet states of consciousness. Citing biofeedback studies, Johnston (1976:31-32) informs us that the rhythms of the drum effectively dissipate nervous tensions between the echoing pulses. As tensions are built and suddenly released, the brain is stimulated and this in turn stimulates other physiological systems. Johnston (1976:31-32) goes on to compare the hallucinatory effect of drumming, the steady beat and the slight increases and decreases in tempo and volume, with the stimulating effect of rock music.

Finally, ethnographic accounts often allude to the drum's psycho-physiological appeal, the effect of drum dance performance frequently noted as culminating in after-events associated with spouse exchange, religious seances, and combative games.

Still, the reverberating quality of the drum might best be appreciated by Freuchen's description (1951:226):

> the sound of the drum, muted at first, ... (grew) ... in volume until the igloo reverberated from the banging of the echoing voice and the rolling of the seal skin, now over our heads, now beneath our feet.

Obviously, the implication of a scarcity of drums was neither a paucity of sound or a paucity of power. Traditionally, the significance of the drum related strongly to its metaphysical qualities.

The Physical Qualities of the Drum

Informants, when queried about the drum's ideal physical properties, almost unanimously mention lightness and a specific sound quality. Although they state that "any kind of wood" will suffice, they also specify that the drum should not be "too heavy." Generally, the weight of the drum is not a great concern for mature dancers with greater strength and endurance. However, the following songtext illustrates the other side; the explicit fear of an individual who finds the drum too difficult to wield. The song was composed by an Igloolik performer and, as Nattiez (1979:7-8) points out, the words are difficult to understand unless one knows that the song was evoked by the composer's anxiety before his first performance with the drum. Specifically, the song text refers to his fear of not being able to keep the heavy drum afloat.

> Someone else's aya - ya -
> I'm not going to lift anyone else's drum,
> Aya ya.
> Someone else's aya ya,
> Someone else's aya ya,
> I'm tired of feeling hopeless, ah! (two times)
> Someone else's drum - aya ya (three times)
> Did you want to lift it - ah!
> Someone else's drum - aya ya (three times)
> I'm not going to lift anything - ah! -
> I'm not going to lift someone else's drum -
> Aya ya - someone else's - aya ya.
> (Nattiez 1979:8)

Although informants generally state a preference for wooden rather than bone frames, because of their relative lightness, they are far from unanimous in their preference for the sound quality of drums with wooden frames. A Rankin Inlet informant (Joe Patterk 1987), however, vividly demonstrated his preference for the correct sound by alternately knocking his knuckles against a tobacco tin and then against a wooden floor to show the difference between them. Specifically, he demonstrated an unimpressive thin sound, contrasted with a full, strong sound.

The importance of a good drum that makes a good sound is indicated by the term imikstuq. The Inuit writer Luke Arna'naag (1987:16) explains its meaning as "a good sound ... a certain sound that makes people happy." Informants also state a concern for a proper drum sound by incorporating into their comments reference to the skin drumhead; the material described as preferably "thin" (young fawn), "without any holes" and "stretched tight." In addition to these criteria an Eskimo Point craftsman (Casimir Nutargunik) relates that in his area the ability to "make a better sound" is enhanced if you "remember to cut a small hole (in the skin head) close to the handle." The hole takes the form of a half circle, the radius approximately two inches (see Plate 20).

The Sound Dimension

Tuning

To produce a good sound special care to both wet* and tighten the drumhead before and during performance must occur. This procedure usually takes only a few minutes since the moistened drumhead quickly slackens and then tightens gradually as it dries. Accordingly, it ensures a harmonious quality associated with correct tonal properties. Also, before-event procedures consist of tightening the drumhead by pulling the cord taut around the rim frame. Again, during the event, the wetting procedure is quickly followed by repeating the tightening procedure; the drumhead pulled taut with a small piece of wood used as a prying instrument. The wood-stick or '*ipjuutaq*'** is approximately 30mm long and wrapped with loose skin edges. When used it is pulled and twisted beneath the cord until the tension is absolutely right.

The Continuity of Sound

Continuity of sound at drum dance performances constitutes another dimension for evaluating the good sound. Several informants state that one of the main

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[*] Generally water is spread over the drumhead. Traditionally, saliva was also used, and before white man's standards of decency prevailed, the skin drum head was also occasionally moistened with urine (Johnston 1976:15).

[**] *Isumasi*, Volume 1, March 1987:16.

features of a successful drum dance is "not waiting for people to pick up the drum ... in the old days when you finished the dance and placed the drum down, whoever was willing, whoever was happiest, would grab the drum" (Donald Suluk, Eskimo Point: 86).

Thus in addition to the significance of sound, the procedure of either picking up the drum from its resting position on the floor, or directly passing it hand to hand is indicated. Balikci's account (1971:141) refers to the latter procedure as a characteristic trait of song fellowship among the Netsilik (see Plate 21). Several Keewatin informants also alluded to the same traditional practice, since they recalled if one shared the same name as the preceding drummer, the drum would be directly passed. However, they also stated that this special relationship need not be the only reason for directly passing the drum. Specifically, if you wanted to see a person dance, or if you knew that an individual wished to dance, then the procedure was to give the drum directly to that person. Does this information represent a similar procedure between the Netsilik and the coastal Keewatin groups, or a difference between these groups and the Iglulik? Does a lack of direct passing procedures reflect acculturation influences; the significance of song partnerships diminished with the passage of time? In any case, the direct passing of the drum generally increases the continuity of sound, thereby reducing the interval pause.

The Structure of Drumming

Duple Pulse and Pace

The sound pattern of the Inuit drum dance consists of a strong continuous duple pulse. Unlike many drum beat rhythms, this durational organization emphasizes a steady duple pattern rather than an uneven accented rhythm based on alternating short and long beats.

The steady rhythm moves at a moderate to slow pace; the pulse strongly influenced by somatic (body) rhythms. Accordingly, the pulse can be compared with an even breath rhythm, a symmetrical walking pace, or a syllabic rhythm associated with the articulation and rhythmic accent of song texts.

This preference for an even, symmetrical, ongoing pulse also directly links movement to functional tasks that demand physical endurance. Thus, the pulse mirrors a conative attitude of mind and body, the beat suggestive of coping or overcoming. This is hinted at by an Eskimo Point informant (Donald Suluk, 1986) who relates that "in the old days the rhythm was slow ... in rock and roll dance today the people go fast and crazy - drum dancing is more serious."

The importance of a strong even pulse is also described by Freuchen (1961:275):

> The song had a tune; the words had to follow the drum beats and also the dance was bound by a certain rhythm. Even if there was no scanned rhythm in the songs, there was respirational rhythm in the dance If not the dance became uneven and trance (serious) dance did not occur.

The Rhythmic Drum Pattern

Variations in the pulse are limited to slight tempo changes that occur only briefly. Brief accelerations of pace convey a sense of intensified activity, and decelerations are strategically placed in order not to convey a sense of growing fatigue. Thus, although the binary beat is always symmetrical, a characteristic feature of rhythmic elasticity can temporarily disrupt this primary pattern of symmetry.*

Regional variations also occur. Among the Netsilik, a slow pulse (as distinct from a moderate slow pace) is common (Balikci 1971; Cavanagh 1982). Pelly Bay dancers also prefer a slow pulse because, as an Igloolik informant asserts, Pelly Bay dances are often tests of endurance since the "people prefer to sing (and dance) to very long songs" (Noah Piuqaatuq, 1987).

Regarding the perspective relation between rhythms produced by the drum and the voice, the consensus opinion by ethnomusicologists is that these patterns are unpredictable and aleatory. Johnston (1976:132) informs us that the rhythms "run along without any apparent relation." Nattiez (1979:5) is more hesitant, contending that "ethnomusicology has not yet succeeded in showing a rational organization of song and the organization of striking the drum which does not mean there must necessarily be one ... The comparison of several recordings of the same song seem to show that the striking takes place at different times." An informant, Emile Immaroittuq (Igloolik, 1986) explains, although the drum dancer "is aware of the relationship to the singer, you do not attempt to keep their beat ... Enjoying the beat (means) keeping your own inner beat."

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*Western ethnographers have generally assigned Inuit drum beats a time value of a quarter note.

Timbre

The continuous pace of drum is complemented by a characteristic timbre produced through a playing technique that blends movement patterns and accompanying effort actions in a precise and regular manner. The ethnographic literature generally emphasizes that the correct timbre is achieved by the drummer contacting the alternate rim of the drum rather than by directly striking on the skinhead surface. However, little, if any, attention has been devoted to the significant relation between the correct resonance and the correct playing technique.

Cavanagh (1973:15) provides a rudimentary understanding of how the desired timbre is achieved by a practiced movement pattern. She states that "when the drum is turned from side to side, a slight change of pitch occurs in the alternate beat of duple rhythm." An informant (Noah Piuqaatuq, Igloolik 1987) explains further that resonance is aided if the beater contacts the mid section of the rim. "The difference between a beginner and a professional drum dancer," he says, is that the latter "does not miss the mid section, even if his eyes are closed (he) does not tap close to the handle, but hits the middle of the bottom rim."

More important than this prescribed action of alternately contacting the far and near mid-rim to produce the correct timbre is the use of specific effort elements; the varying elements of weight, space, time, and flow combined to provide what is commonly referred to as a sense of touch or muscular timing. Accordingly, the good drum dancer produces the subtle variations in the movement quality in order to achieve a distinctive sound described as "boom - choo - boom - choo" instead of "boom - boom - boom."*

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*Eskimo Point informant, Eric Anoee, 1987.

More specifically, contact with the far rim requires a (forward) reaching action of the beater hand associated with a relatively strong weight element. Conversely, the (backward) straight-reversal action that contacts the near rim requires more controlled efforts, the movement quality associated with a relatively light weight and a more reduced use of space. Thus, when the beater meets the near rim of the falling drum, the effort action of the beater hand changes in order to produce the slight variations in pitch and volume.

Only Jenness (1922:225) has astutely observed that a change in the quality of sound is produced by a change in the movement pattern and the concomitant change in the drum dancer's effort qualities. He states that the good drum dancer

> struck the drum on the far side of the handle, then as he swung it back, brought it to a stop on the strike with very little noise. Other natives, who were less expert, made the rebound almost as much as the full stroke itself.

With full reference to the element of flow, the good sound, the sound "that is not flat" (Donald Suluk, Eskimo Point 1986), is the product of an ability to keep alive the coordinated effort action of the drum and the beater hand by continuously changing the tension between bound and free flow. The muscular timing demands that the muscles be neither too tensed (bound) or too relaxed (free).

The concern for keeping the sound alive through a supple flow of co-ordinated tensions is alluded to by a skilled informant* who coaches for the feeling of alternately building and releasing tensions. He explains, "You do not try to keep the drum up with the stick beater .... [Moreover,] it is not the wrist that holds the drum. The weight of the drum is less if you balance the drum with the stick."

It should be briefly noted that the ability to produce the correct sound in drum dancing, the "sound that lifts your spirits" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik) is associated with movement qualities that are directly linked to the life experience of the Inuit. Specifically, the kinesthetic sensitivity valued in drum dancing is similar to the practiced and pragmatic sense of touch required to successfully wield a dog whip,** to judge the size and shape of a seal hole under the snow, or to build an igloo by testing the various strata produced by different winds and weather simply by the feel of a snow knife.

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*The informant Ikmak was interviewed at Expo. He coached the Arctic sports in Yellowknife but learned to drum dance as a youth under the expert guidance of his father.

**One of the stars at the Chicago World Fair in 1893 was a Labrador Inuk, named Gabriel Pamivik, who astonished crowds with his ability to hit the target of a coin on the ground from a 30-foot distance with a whip (P. Petrone 1988:77).

Training With The Drum

As in other aspects of Inuit life, physical training to manipulate the drum begins early. Informants describe how families who liked to dance and sing encouraged their children to dance by making a drum suitable to the child's physical size and strength. Therefore, "not unlike a new pair of boots, when the child had outgrown an old drum, a new one was made" (Alice Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986).

Typically, learning involves a method of self-discovery based on observation, imitation, and trial and error. The individual's responsibility is clearly expressed by an informant who states: "I learned to drum dance by practicing and attending drum dances willingly" (Ollie Ittinuar, Rankin Inlet, 1987).

The importance of acquiring skill through rehearsal and informal play is also stressed in Inuit culture. As an informant states, "when hunters had free time, they would gather and practice on the drum ... We did not have a singer sing for us, but sometimes we sang for ourselves" (Noah Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987). Lyon's drawing of three small Igloolik children playing with the drum (circa 1823) confirm the awareness that efficient action is acquired only through practice (Appendix III:8).

Moreover, the general group responsibility to encourage and assist individuals in the learning process is frequently mentioned. Annie Seewoe (Eskimo Point, 1987) states: "when a child is interested to learn, he will grab the drum even if it is too heavy ... The mother (or local expert) will help hold the drum for the child in order that he may learn" (Plate 38). Another informant explained that if a person was learning to drum dance and was nervous, "the women closed their eyes while singing" in order that the person learning might "feel more comfortable" (Alice Suluk, Eskimo Point 1986).

Distinct from the mastery of song texts, an activity requiring constant rehearsal to keep the words from slipping out of memory, the mastery of neuromuscular drumming skill, once acquired, is "not easily forgotten" (Joe Patterk, Rankin Inlet, 1987). Drum dance movements, however, require not only physical skill but an expressiveness of movement that cannot be perfected through mere imitation. The need to develop a personal style of movement is emphasized by an informant: "although there are all kinds of dancing and drum dancers, you must remember what you see (and) try to take what you like out of that and establish something for yourself" (Ollie Ittinuar, Rankin Inlet, 1987). In essence, the training of a good drum dancer involves learning to distinguish between "what you take" and "what you are" (Ollie Ittinuar).

Finally, it must also be noted that the training to be a good drum dancer is, in many ways, a dimension of the training to be a good hunter. Obviously, since both activities stress strength and endurance, the most reputable drum dancers are usually men, and the stylistic features of the dance form itself, -- the posture, gait, and stance -- resemble the specific kinesthetic traits of the successful hunter. For example, the dancer's forward lean position demands stretched and strengthened muscles in the lower back; the physical attribute developed as a matter of course by hunters used to long vigils in their kayaks. The characteristic dance feature of a flexed knee and ankle positions also reflects the hunter's necessary development of supple, lengthened tendons. The easy articulation of the shoulder joint required in drum dancing is also practiced in the hunt, especially, the throwing and striking actions associated with harpoons and clubs. In brief, the targeted muscular areas of the body employed in the drum dance is also the musculature developed by the skillful hunter. Accordingly, it is fair to say that the physical skills of a good drum dancer relate a high correspondence to the skills of a successful hunter.*

B. THE SONG IDIOM

The Oral Tradition of Songs

Early ethnographic reports make frequent mention of how song was perceived as a part of every Inuit's life.** The Netsilik shaman and poet Orpingalik explained to Rasmussen that "all my being is song and I sing as I draw breath" (1931:321). He also stressed the importance of spontaneity and improvisation, asserting that "songs are thoughts sung out with the breath when people are moved by great forces and ordinary speech no longer suffices ... the words we need will come themselves ... shoot up

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[*] In Laughlin's (1968:304-320) study of hunting he refers to specific exercises and games that train young Aleut children to become good hunters. The stretching and strengthening of the lower back, knees, ankles, and arms are emphasized. Thus, although an invidual's physical body is patterned by hereditary factors and the physical environment, the quality and quantity of the sensory modality is patterned in accordance with the kind of exercises that are deemed relevant by a specific cultural milieu.

[**] For example, Amundsen (1908: I:313) records that "women always sing while at work," and Freuchen (1961:274) relates that "it was never difficult to start the Eskimo singing but it was quite a problem to make them stop again.

of themselves" (Rasmussen 1931:16). However, song-making is traditionally perceived not only as a natural gift but also as a deliberate act involving considerable efforts on the part of the composer.

By implication, a certain level of musical skill and a certain amount of devotion to the art of composition was traditionally expected of all Inuit people. Still, although prestige could be obtained by a demonstration of skill in song composition (or for that matter, in drum dancing, hunting, or sewing), the skill did not set the individual apart from the community in the sense of acquiring a privileged status.*

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*Rasmussen (1929:233) explains that "when one tries to talk to one of these poets on the subject of poetry as an art he will, of course, not understand in the least what we civilized people mean by the term. He will not admit that there is any special gift associated with such production, but at the most may grant it as a gift and even then a gift which everyone would possess to some degree."

Although the anthropologist Boas (1888:240) erred by omitting dance when he stated that "among the arts of the Eskimo, poetry and music are the most prominent," his statement does accurately stress the importance of song in Inuit culture.* An informant (Alice Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986) explains that the "lyrics of songs are important" because they allow one to communicate with "parents, grandparents, and even great-grandparents ... (even) those you do not know in life you will know through the experience that they have lived." By implication, the importance of drum dancing can be viewed as demonstrating a complementary spiritual energy or physical strength that also celebrates this birthright.

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*In the pre-contact days song and story constituted the people's oral history. The Inuit were taught to read and write by missionaries who used three different orthographic systems: Moravian orthography in Labrador (1771), Roman orthography in the Western Arctic introduced by the Oblates in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the Eastern Arctic syllabics introduced by Rev. Edmund James Peck at the Baffin Island Mission (1884). Familiarity with English was not common until after World War II and the systematic attempt by the Canadian government to formalize education by establishing day schools at newly constructed permanent settlements.

The Pisiq, Sacred Words, and Shamanistic Language

The Pisiq*

The pisiq or traditional drum dance song is characterized by a repetitive pattern-sequence of stanzas and wordless syllabic 'aijai' refrains. Although the texts are often described as a narrative, they are actually of a composite oratorical and poetic nature. The style is plain and unadorned, the expression intensively personal. The writer P. Petrone (1988:5) points out that "in a society where there were no luxuries, it is not surprising that the poetic imagination was straightforward and sparse, -- the power of the emotion isolated in a few words, in sharp and vivid images.**

The Sacred Words

Traditionally, for the Inuit as for many other peoples, words as well as drums were perceived to possess metaphysical qualities. The sacred power of the word expressed the essence of life since its magic was to control the cosmic forces that shaped the destinies of men. Traditionally, the Iglulik believed that spirit songs originated from the souls in the Land of the Dead

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*The Dance Song, see Complex Idiom for an earlier discussion of this term.

**She goes further to state a comparison between Inuit song and the sophisticated economy of the Japanese Haiku, since the "power of the emotions is isolated in a few words in sharp and vivid images."

(Rasmussen 1929:229).* The Iglulik shaman-poet, Ivaluardjuk, in an attempt to explain the magic power of words to Rasmussen, stated: "this is blood that flowed from a piece of wood" (1929:234). The metaphor heightened Rasmussen's sensibility and stimulated his wonder "that the singer's faith in the power of words should be so enormous that he should be capable of believing that a piece of dry wood would bleed, could shed warm red blood, wood, the driest thing there is" (Rasmussen 1929:234).

Shamanic Language

The traditional belief in a heightened power of language is also evidenced when composers increase the level of poetic ambiguity through the use of special shamanic words. The vocabulary often proved difficult to learn since these ancient words lost their exact meaning over time, and their special metaphoric meanings required the mastery of many descriptive phrases. For example, the caribou was indirectly referred to as the "one with branching antlers," and the seal was described as "a piece of fat" (Cavanagh 1973:6). This use of vivid images, which apparently heightened the magical or taboo quality of words produced the traditional concern for choosing the correct word, and skillfully arranging the text. The individual who had made and possessed many songs could, it was believed, directly shape his or her own destiny.

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*In an attempt to explain the "direct relation of the songs to the spirit" Rasmussen was instructed "by the fact that every Eskimo who under the influence of powerful emotion loses control of himself often breaks into song whether the occasion be pleasurable or the reverse."

The Song Content and Classification

The autobiographical nature of drum dance songs encourages a wide range of themes celebrating the joys and sorrows of daily life. Although these personal retrospectives are often sentimental, expressive of some philosophy of life and traditionally serious in their attempt to summon good fortune through magical prayer, they also remain closely interwoven with the practical realities of life. Subject materials therefore reflect an ongoing preoccupation with the concerns of hunting and fishing, as well as with family, the difficulties of poetic composition, youth, age, women, marriage, the weather (the miseries of winter and summer symbolized as cold and mosquitos are favorite themes*), and even the difficulties of getting out of bed in the morning.**

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*See Appendix V:1.

**Although the following Iglulik song narrative does not include 'aijai' insertions, the narrative illustrates how even the simplest thoughts are perceived as worthy of song composition. The song text relates:

> When I wake up in the morning
> Should I put on my clothes ...
> Am I in the wrong bed ...
> My clothes are cold.
> Should I put on my clothes ...
> But my bed is warm.

(Translation by Zak Kunuk from a 1987 CBC tape of a performance commissioned by Professor Tanimoto, Hokkaido, Japan.)

The categorization of drum dance songs by investigators has generally resulted in arbitrary classifications. Rasmussen classified traditional songs according to three types: songs of sentiment, hunting songs, and songs of derision. Sentiment-filled texts were defined as serious, ancient songs, associated with magic prayer, and "songs of the departed" where melodies possessed a "simple solemnity" (1932:130-131). Hunting songs focused upon the environment and subsistence activities, and songs of derision related to song contests which emphasized the "glorification of some achievement or some experience that has left its impression" (1928:231).

Although Rasmussen's classification was based on his study of Copper and Iglulik songs, Marsh's (1946:20) categorization of Caribou songs confirms the familiar enthographic axiom that the subject and theme of Inuit oral poetry are remarkably the same everywhere. Song texts which do not relate to songs of derision were summarized by Marsh as (1) the drum dancer's personal experience, (2) his failure at hunting, (3) the hunter as a recipient of food and aid from friends, and (4) comedy at the white man's expense. Marsh cites the following as an example of the last category: "she had a waist like a wasp and two front teeth like a walrus" (Marsh 1946:20).

In summary, I offer the obvious conclusion that pisiq songs incorporate a variety of both sacred and secular themes.*

The Song Context

Nattiez (1979:123) informs us that ultimately the song is judged by its text. Although it is the words that most strongly evoke the bitter-sweet feelings and memories associated with Inuit realities, Inuit verse also attempts to recreate the complex set of circumstances in which the song was created or inspired. A full appreciation of the song, therefore, comprises an understanding not only of the story told in the text, but also the hidden story that is told in terms of the context, or situation of composition. Nattiez (1979:13) explains that the circumstances behind certain songs were as well known to the community as the texts themselves since "the wife of the author recounted them at the same time that she was transmitting the songs to the other women. Further, in the case of two distant camps meeting, if a song had pleased them one asked the performer after the performance in what circumstances he had composed the song."

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[*] Jenness (1928:197) noted that the Inuit do not have songs of war or love songs where "the youth declared his passion and praised his fair one's beauty."

Knowing the true meaning of the words of a song can only be known by also "knowing where the words came from ... for if you know that then the words are really strong ... you will be touched and truly understand" (Theresa Kimaliakjuk, Rankin Inlet 1987). The context of composition can therefore increase understanding either by (1) decidedly altering the meaning of text to provide a different meaning, or (2) increasing perception by heightening the poignancy of the original text. An instance of the former can be illustrated by an examination of a song collected by Nattiez (1979:13):

> I always think it's so beautful
> when I am climbing up the hill.
> Do you think you will see me?
> Aya - Aya -
> The ground is frozen hard.
> It doesn't take me long to go out
> in the morning. (two times)
> Aya - ya

The words of song are plain enough to understand. However, if one also knows the circumstances of the song's creation, that the "composer/singer has lost his kayak and must go home on foot across the ice floes," then the song takes on new meaning. The poet can now be seen as "addressing himself to the seals which he wants to kill with frozen stones and from whom he must hide himself at the top of the hill" (Nattiez 1979:13).

This contribution by context of adding an increased poignancy to an original, unemotional text is also illustrated by an informant's story of her father's song. The song tells the tale of a man living in the Repulse Bay area. The story he sings to his wife and family relates

> I am sorry that I have to leave you without food. I do not know how long I will be gone ... but listen for the dog team for when I return I will bring back walrus meat.

Although it took only a short time to present this narrative of song, my informant took a relatively long time to detail the exact circumstances surrounding the event. The important circumstances were that the father had risen early and when his wife and family awoke he told them that "somebody had lied that he had stolen a sled and he must travel at the request of the R.C.M.P. to Chesterfield." Both the man and his family were frightened and anxious for "he was the only one to care for us, ... to catch food ... and to keep us from harm."

The Role of Humor and Images of the Land

Humor is often used in drum dance songs to minimize a spirit of rivalry and contention. Although the songs are frequently autobiographical and attempt to enhance the composer's own reputation and self-esteem, their main theme is the overcoming of personal difficulties in the general course of Arctic life.* However, personal achievements are carefully monitored not to extend into bragging.** In general, personal strivings are skillfully recounted to convey an aura of modesty through the literary devices of cryptic allusion and ironic understatement.

Although the humor of satire and ridicule are used to great effect in social and political songs, a distinction should be made between the gently satirical songs used in contests where competitors compare their prowess as "a hunter and courage as a man" (Rasmussen 1929:231), and the songs of abuse associated with Inuit tribunals. In the latter it is "legitimate to be nasty" and humor is used to heap vitrolic ridicule upon the drum dancer's opponent.

Still, of all the themes and images that abound in Inuit song, those related to the land have an unrivaled status. The land provides the Inuit not only with a material basis for their culture, but more significantly, with the spiritual source of their vitality and their will. A unique partnership with the land gives them the perpetual vision of a vital dynamic presence in which the past and the future are interwoven; a vision that is clarified in the themes and images of songs that tell of intimate encounters with seasons, weather, topography, animals, and people.* Imagery stressing the harmonious relationship between man and animals is especially common as is the device of personifying the beasts (see Appendix V: 3).

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*Jenness (1929:197) noted early that drum dance songs were used as an overcoming mechanism.

**Bragging is forbidden not only because it is seen to grandize the individual at the expense of the social group but also, more importantly, because it appropriates for self a power of endurance and striving that belongs more properly to the community's ancestral spirits.

The Rhythmic Structure of Drum Dance Songs

In order to understand how the rhythmic structures of song and dance co-exist but do not intentionally coincide, it is important to understand how the singer and dancer achieve rhythmic impact through common points of orientation in the song; the predictable moments of stability enabling a certain phrasing which in turn manifests itself in an overall repetitive pattern.

Cavanagh (1982:125-138) informs us that Inuit song is almost devoid of meter and, instead, places preeminent emphasis on the continuous pulse. However, instability in rhythm (as well as in melody) normally occurs at the beginning of the stanzas, especially in the first stanza, and a weakening of pulse also occurs in the final refrain. The stabilization of the pulse is therefore related to a phase in the middle where the singer(s) settles into the song.

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*It is interesting to note that today the desired social and political changes are still symbolized by the land. The future vision of the Eastern Arctic is perceived with the Inuit homeland of Nunavut.

Moreover, although tempo changes may occur within a phrase, a stanza or a song, rhythmic elasticity is most frequently evident in the wordless aijai refrain. Tempo changes that occur within the stanza text are most elastic at the stanza's extremities. Thus, a more rigid pulse occurs in the central portion of the stanza. This section, called a "central chant portion" by Cavanagh (82:130), derives its regularity from its strict use of repetitive words of equal lengths. Accordingly, an equal number of rhythmic syllables occurs. Not surprisingly, the effect of this solid pulse (in the middle of the stanza) often encourages a strong base from which to provide rhythmic variation through acceleration. In contrast, the final refrain is generally a little slower.

Internal tempo also varies considerably. The duration is often substantially altered when the singer catches her breath or pauses to remember the next line or stanza (Cavanagh 1982:127). Still, a continuity of sound is the ideal as the Inuit Armand Togoona (Petrone 1988:216) explains: "The white man's songs have stops, but Inuit songs do not. If two Inuits sing together one stops to breathe and the other continues singing." This ideal is also encouraged by a vocal delivery characterized by a merging or slurring of words and the total absence of vibrato (Cavanagh 1982:95). In general, the aijai refrain used in the Eskimo Point region is relatively long in comparison to the text. Obviously, this presents a distinct advantage over singers from the Pelly Bay area since they are often confronted with the difficulty of remembering song texts. In general, informants acknowledged the Netsilik tendency to prefer a long dance song.*

With reference to the song tempo, the preference is for a legato style. Although the songs recorded by Cavanagh in Pelly Bay are slower than those in Repulse Bay (1982:123), the choice of the slower pulse appears to reflect individual preference as much as a regional style characteristic.** Moreover, in general, the age of the singer is also a factor: the tempo is "decidedly slower with the natural tendency to slow down with age" (Cavanagh 1982:125).

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*This is confirmed by Johnston (1976:126) who cites the average strophe length of a Netsilik song as "about 46 or 47 measures of 6/8 time." In contrast, a shorter song length is attributed to the Caribou since the strophe length is recorded as 30 measures of 6/8 time (1976:130).

**Specifically, she notes that 63% of the Netsilik drum dance songs fall between the average grouping of 91-120 notes (beats) per minute. A few Repulse Bay songs recorded in the Pelly Bay (were described as) "measurably faster" (Cavanagh 1982:123).

It is interesting to consider that the pervasive duple pulse may represent the Inuit emphasis on the importance of present time. Unlike the music of other cultures that employ a variety of means to accent rhythm (e.g., metre, rhythmic and melodic repetitions, and punctuated texts), Inuit music is characterized by a relative lack of temporal organization. Time is generally viewed as occupying a dynamic present. Unlike most European languages the tense includes the immediate past or future and the more distant past or future. Birket-Smith (1959:65) informs us that the Inuit language "surpasses both English and Danish since it displays an ability of abstractions that is in sharp contrast with its strong demand for place ... The Eskimos allow the question of time to remain quite open, so that the answer is only to be seen from the connection." It is this interest in points or spaces of time that describe a concern for antecedents and consequences. In keeping with this temporal organization, song texts are characterized by a "number of pulses" rather than intellectual schemas that emphasize "order and succession" (Cavanagh 1982:138).

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Returning the focus to the rhythmic structure of the songs, the difficulty of locating an internal structure encouraged Cavanagh (1973) to seek a macro structure by investigating the narrative basis of Inuit song. Following the typical narrative progressions, she outlined a common procedure. In summary, her findings suggest that Inuit song consists of two parts: an introductory section in which expectations are negated, and the narrative proper (1973:9). The first part (Part A) refers to a portion of song text in which the composer asserts that his song is insignificant and that the hearer should not expect anything from it. The second (Part B) is composed of three sections: the latter outlines (1) a setting, a specific name, place, or season; (2) the presentation of a potentially tragic occurrence, and (3) an ironic/comic ending in which misfortune is overcome and order is restored (see Appendix V:4).

Training in Song

Songs and rudimentary compositional techniques are frequently introduced to children early in their lives: "children of parents and grandparents who liked to sing and dance were encouraged to say even a few words ... then the family would sing the words, helping the child to create a new song" (Alice Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986). This sort of song-play was also noted by Rasmussen (1931: 320) for "children half in play and half in earnest make festivals in a small house that they have built themselves."

As children grow older the practice of singing familiar words quickly evolves into full fledged song making. Thus early training is culturally significant. An Eskimo Point informant, Alice Suluk (1986), explains, building a repertoire requires "taking time to make songs of one's own and to learn the songs of other people." Thus, in traditional times, training in song entailed a life time activity and commitment. Even in the dance house "when people don't know the song, they don't have to sing because in time they will learn the songs of different people." Obviously, this widespread interest in learning to sing and dance related to the traditional fact that there were few other social activities that would involve the whole community. Succinctly expressed by Lizzie Ittinua (Rankin Inlet, 1987), "drum dancing was one of the few real kinds of community gatherings."

The belief that all members of the society should be able to sing and dance is part of a larger social ideal based on an inherent quality of isuma, or in Jean Briggs' translation, an 'adultness' that belonged to everyone. Cavanagh (1982:80) informs us that the conscious encouragement of song composition is a manifestation of isuma since song composition symbolizes the composer's relationship to his environment and establishes his position in the community.

Although somg composition is explained as a way "to express what you feel inside," the full mastery of a song text entails "listening, absorbing and practicing" both the words and the tune (Lizzie Ittinuar, Rankin Inlet, 1987). The process involves "understanding the meaning of the words and being careful not to forget the lines of the song" (Donald Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986). His daughter Mary Thompson explained further that the "meaning of the words (entails knowing) a special vocabulary no longer in use ... like Shakespeare." It also requires an understanding of the truth of lived experiences since "one does not begin to make a song by saying, 'I'm going to make a song about an animal.' ... the meaning must be experienced" (Theresa Kimmalardjuk, Rankin Inlet, 1987).

C. EVALUATIVE CRITERIA AND PROCEDURAL RULES

To be a Composer/Dancer

Traditionally, before one could become a drum dancer one first had to compose a song. As such, dancing in the dance house was synonymous with a song festival. Informants consistently state that "good dancers have a lot of songs." Although Marsh (1946:20) recorded that since a poet/dancer might have as many as twenty or thirty songs, a better idea of the widespread interest in song-making and the number of songs that might circulate within the community at a given time might be gained by remembering that Rasmussen collected almost a hundred songs from the eminent Pelly Bay poet Orpingalik in the course of a week (Cavanagh 1982:31).

Traditionally, as soon as one stepped into performance space it was normally assumed that one's own song would be sung by a group of seated women singers in both lead and chorus roles. However, if the drum dancer did not possess a personally-owned song, it was acceptable for him to borrow a family-owned song. A principle of apprenticeship appears to be behind this practice of borrowing. In other words, the neophyte could perform another's song so that he might get a feel for performance and thus be inspired to develop his own potential as a composer. Still, both yesterday and today the concern for copyright is evident. As one informant asserts, "you didn't want just anybody to sing your song" (Ollie Ittinuar, Rankin Inlet, 1987). Accordingly, the singer is never tempted "to say that it was your song and it was not" (Alice Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986). In general, the personalized nature of the song assured that copyright was restricted.

To be a Lead Singer

Traditionally, in the Eastern Arctic, the ability to access and transmit song compositions for performance generally meant that wives were committed to practicing their husband's song. Accordingly, the lead singing role was adopted by the voice of the wife or mother. However, if a man did not have a wife, or the wife was too young to be entrusted with the responsibility of memorizing the husband's song, then the role of the lead singer could also be granted to a special male friend or *illuq*. Informants also state that fathers might sing to encourage their young sons in the dance. Thus, ultimately, a rule of 'private domain,' or the preeminent significance of intimate family responsibilities overrode conventional, gender roles in performance. Rasmussen (1929:240) corroborates this point with the observation that in the Iglulik region if "a man without a wife, in other words, a singer with no one to take his important part (then he) simply stands erect and sings his words." (Appendix III:3).

To be a Chorus Singer

Although an egalitarian attitude, characteristic of Inuit, would appear to have encouraged both men and women to adopt a chorus role, and informants relate that any who have taken the time to learn the song may participate, it is equally true that the traditional close co-operation required of women in performing their daily tasks gave them more time and opportunity to rehearse the songs. Thus, again, a sound respect for the practical and pragmatic rather than rules of gender explains the continuing performance of women in chorus roles.

To be a Good Singer

An incorrect way of singing was described by an informant as "singing too loud in comparison to the other singers" (Alice Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986). Apparently, there is no such thing as a correct volume in the sense of playing or singing too loud, but rather the key understanding of a mutual relationship to one another. This is alluded to by Rasmussen (1929:229) when he states that "a conceited singer who thinks himself a master of the art, has little power over his audience." Also, the ethnographic literature suggests that there is no restriction on the volume of drumming. Jenness (1922:225) describes a drum dancer "flourishing the drum with great vigor and banging it until we were all nearly deafened," and Marsh (1946:21) observed a performance where the tempo increased and the drum was beaten more wildly than ever until it seemed that it could hardly stand the force of the beats.

It is important to note that the interest in volume is apparently perceived by Inuit as an interest in dynamic changes. While one of my informants (Annie Seowee, Eskimo Point, 1987) referred to volume changes by expressing the pleasure derived from "listening for more noise," Rasmussen (1932:130) informs us that although "airs do not extend beyond a few notes" variations occur not only through increases and decreases in tempo, but through volume changes. His appraisal is vivid and succinct: "listening to these songs is like heavy breakers beating against rock cliffs"

To Be a Good Drum Dancer

It is constantly asserted by informants that a drum dancer is "happy if his song is enjoyed" and that drum dancing is about joy and happiness. While it is true that the enjoyment of song is most visibly expressed by the drum dancer's rhythmic accompaniment to song, the celebration of joy is also the drum dancer's own kinetic pleasure in the felt-rhythms demonstrated through expertise in dancing. As discussed earler, individual style is perceived by Inuit not only in terms of strength and endurance but in terms of a number of different factors. Taken together, the following brief points provide the criteria for assessing a good drum dance.

Individual style in drum dancing is characterized by (1) a rhythmic/improvised dance, (2) an ability to summon sufficient strength and endurance to wield the drum as though it were weightless, (3) a mastery of effort qualities that enables the dancer and the drum to move in a rhythmic union, and finally, (4) a unique ability to evolve a significantly different style out of a relatively limited grammar of movement. It is this latter interest in developing an intensely personal style and observing individual style differences between others that provides an essential aesthetic pleasure for participants.

The importance of the drum dancer to achieve his own personal style is expressed by an informant, Ollie Ittinuar (Rankin Inlet, 1987), as "making something for yourself." Furthermore, the intimacy of personal expression is judged in accordance with the drum dancer's ability to render breath shouts; the open expression described by N. Piuqaatuq (Igloolik, 1987) as the dancer's ability to utter "joyful sounds that come up through the body." This is confirmed in the ethnographic literature by Jenness (192:224) who states that "whoops of joy from the dancer always meets with support from the ring." Eric Anoee of Eskimo Point notes (Petrone 1988: 180) "you can see the dancers, some of them seemingly lively and not just staying in one spot on the floor - these are the ones that are most desirable to see; they are not lethargic and some of them accompany themselves with shouts and cries."

Ultimately, personal expression is synonymous with the production of a 'good sound.' The importance of practiced movement qualities to achieve this end is metaphorically expressed as "like driving a good dog team ... once you know where (and how) to hit ... then you have a good style" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987). The co-ordinated skill required to produce the correct sound is alluded to by another informant (George Qulaut, Igloolik, 1987) who assesses the dancer's competence as an ability "to become one with the drum."

It is recognized that by developing a personal style, the dancer conveys a quality of leadership; "others will watch and choose to follow by trying to imitate your style ... for that is the way of life" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987). In brief, there is no copyright on movement. This implication speaks volumes for the ability of movement to develop individual potential; the dance a means of achieving status through a 'leadership by expertise' as well as individuals investing authority in themselves. What results from this "is not a real competition" (Donald Suluk, Eskimo Point) since success and confidence are to be shared. This maxim is exemplified in the procedure of "taking turns."

The implication of taking turns is the individual's awareness that he is both pitted against and required to co-operate with, his peers. The delicate task is to exert as much control over the situation as is possible without violating standards of decorum. Moreover, since it is the sum total of successive individual performances that constitutes a drum dance event, the strategic imput of each individual is regarded as vital by the gathering. Informants frequently allude to the importance of individuals maximizing their strategic input by stating that it is important "not to wait too long before picking up the drum." General consensus, then, advocates brief interim periods and, implicitly a fluid, almost seamless event.

Finally, the dancer's stance provides yet another criterion of evaluation. Since bragging is not valued in Inuit society, standing forth as a drum dancer implies that one is not too proud or too assertive. Informants, therefore, frequently state that they are still "practicing" or "learning drum dance," despite a possible ten years or even a life time of actual practice.

Birket-Smith (1959:53) notes that a "lack of self-assertion is a fundamental trait of character, so pronounced indeed that it leads to wistful coquetry, as when a shaman or singer invariably emphasizes his own incompetence prior to performing." The importance of the drum dancer adopting a humble stance is recorded by Marsh (1946:21):

> Several of the men called to Ootoroot to drum. He, in accordance with good taste, said, "No, I can't drum," at which they pressed him the more. At last he rose, and stepping into the centre, picked up the drum with slow deliberate movements. Holding it as Kootneeak had, he lightly touched the surface of it with the stick, and said the first word of his song. Then he stopped and said, "I am no good." Peering into the apex of the tent as if seeking inspiration, he lightly tapped the drum again, this time managing to start the first two words of his song. Suddenly he stopped and said, "My memory is bad, I cannot remember." A slight pause and at last he started to sing his song. When one stanza was finished, his wife joined in and then all the other women joined in too.

Although the enthnographic literature sometimes refers to the nonchalance or the relaxed nature of the dancers's stance, the requisite humble attitude is best illustrated in the Inuit myth of "The Owl and the Lemming." The tale refers to an owl who catches a lemming for supper and decides to celebrate his hunting skills by dancing. The lemming to avoid being eaten tricks the owl by offering his advice on how to dance. Told to lift his head and face towards heaven and spread his legs wide, the owl adopts an incorrect, arrogant posture, and in this stance fails to notice the lemming escaping between his legs. Thus, the ultimate moral learned by the owl dancer is that his vain, self-assertive pose has cost him his dinner and may, if he doesn't change, threaten starvation and even cost him his life Rasmussen 1929:278-279).

D. THE FLEXIBLE RULES

The Drum Dancer's Role

Did the poet/dancer simply drum and dance in performance, or did he sing as well? In contrast to the Western Arctic and the Central Western area where, as Rasmussen (1932:130) observed, the drum dancer simultaneously sang, drummed and danced, in the Iglulik region, even though the composer/dancer shouts out a great cry from time to time, he generously contents himself only "with flinging out a few lines of text while his wife leads the chorus (and thus conducts) the performance of her husband's productions" (1929:240). Earlier, the explorer Parry (circa 1824) also observed that in the Iglulik region "the men seldom sing, and perhaps consider it unmanly, for we never heard them but at our request, and even then they left the women to finish the ditty" (Nattiez 1979:4)

Similarly, informants in the coastal Keewatin area explained that normally the drum dancer does not sing. However, they also relate that in unusual circumstances, to fulfill the conditions of a successful drum dance, a drum dancer may choose to sing as well as to dance and drum. The three most common situations in which a drum dancer may be required to sing are these: (1) if the woman momentarily forgets the man's song, (2) if his song is not well known by the community, and (3) if only a few people are present at the dance.

The Song Composition

Traditionally, every man, woman, and child was encouraged to compose his or her own songs, the established repertoire of family-owned songs would appear to offer a wide range of song choices for any poet-dancer. However, restrictions on the dance song seemed to apply. For example, when the drum dancer did not dance to his own personal song, he usually chose to dance only to a family song composed by another man. Apparently, the songs of women and children were not traditionally appropriate. Although Rasmussen (1929:6) notes that in the Iglulik region every man and every woman and sometimes also children possessed personal songs with appropriate melodies, Nattiez (1979:6) suggests this fact merely emphasizes that song composition was a common hobby. For performance purposes, was there a tendency to restrict the 'pisiq' to male authored songs? He notes that in the Iglulik area today, out of 140 performance songs collected from both sexes, only three were composed by women (1979:6).

In the coastal Keewatin area, informants recall that women's songs were never used in drum dance performances. Birket-Smith (1929:270) records that in this region "normally, only the men have their songs, to which their wives lead the chorus. Women may only sing songs when called upon by a shaman." As a rule, therefore, women content themselves with singing their husband's songs. A Rankin Inlet informant (Lizzie Ittinuar, 1987) explains that "drum dance songs are based on reality. Although women have song compositions, their theme songs are the songs of their fathers, grandfathers or previous namesakes."

This assertion suggests that the reality described in traditional drum dance songs is almost exclusively a male reality with images of the land as experienced during the hunt or with men's desires to establish their reputations or triumphs at song/dance competitions. This does not mean that in this region drum dance songs disregard women's reputations and minimize experiences important to women such as "taking care of the children and sewing" (Donald Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986), but rather that female experiences are presented from a male perspective.

The Song/Dance Duration

Questions concerning how long a dancer/drummer dances before he gives his place to another are generally met with the response that the duration of the dance corresponds to the "length of the song." However, the length of song is not necessarily determined by the length of a single song. It can also refer to the duration of a song sequence or number of songs that might be performed during an individual's turn. The actual length of these turns is influenced by a range of factors, related as much to individual preference as to regional conventions. For example, the choice of a short song can be influenced by whether the song has been rehearsed, tested, and enjoyed by others, whether others recognize that the dancer has only a limited capacity to endure (for reasons of age, illness, or momentary fatigue from a tiring day), or whether there is a concern that some of the people who might wish to dance would be prevented from taking their turns. Thus, the number of songs sung during an individual's performance depends upon an intuitive process of listening and responding; the assessment based on the needs of self and others.

Although Rasmussen (1929:227) records that in the Iglulik area each lead singer normally sang about three songs since a shorter turn would cause him to lose face, no such defined duration is recalled today. However, one imperative remains in effect. The drum dancer who initiates the procedure is required to be acutely aware of the harmonious tensions within the group, since the length of this first song or sequence must not be "too long or too short, but just long enough to lift everyone's spirits" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987). Again, this duty is defined by intuition rather than any conceived rule or number, and so the duration of this opening drum dance might be "one, two, three or even five short songs" (Theresa Kimaliakjut, Rankin Inlet, 1987).

In general, although a performance begins with either a long or a short song, if the presentation is particularly well received then the singer will extend the dancer/composer's performance by singing "one or more songs." This protraction of the turn occurs either through a repetition of the same song or by juxtaposing a new song to the previous song. Amongst the Netsilik, Cavanagh (1982:84) notes another common practice of lengthening the song by adding stanzas to the original song. However, in my investigation I could find no evidence of this practice. My informants unanimously asserted that duration could only be expanded by "repeating the same song," "switching to a new song" or "slowing the song." Since Cavanagh's findings do not include this latter method of "slowing song," does this indicate the result of an increased acculturation influences, the difficulty of "switching to a new song" avoided by "slowing the song"?

My informants were also in agreement with Cavanagh's findings that songs were simply "not made at drum dances" (1982:80). She also relates that this rule applied even during competitive song contests, even though in Greenland Thalbitzer reports that insulting songs were improvised on the spot and sung to an opponent. Balikci (1970) also recounts that among the Netsilik songs of mockery were not improvised, but were rehearsed in secret. Similarly, informants explain that songs were always well rehearsed. But, even though the drum dancer is aware of the fact that the song will not be improvised, the choice of song is determined by the singers. However, it appears that the traditional composer/dancer's familiarity with song and the women's constant song rehearsal prepared the dancer to adapt to any choice.

Nattiez (1979:7) informs us that the criteria of a successful song competition relates to (1) the number of songs known (by the dancer and the singers), (2) the length of song, and (3) the capacity of the drum dancer to endure. However, he does not make it clear whether the words "length of song" refers to a single song or a song sequence. It seems that it must refer to the latter or an overall length of performance since expert informants minimize the importance of a long song. Specifically, it is said that a good drum dancer "can lift your spirits with just one short song" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik).

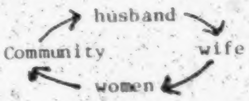
Ultimately, the most vital component of a successful drum dance is the collective awareness of singers and dancer that they are "doing it together -- the singers singing with feeling, the dancer dancing with feeling and as they inspire each other with feelings from the inside -- the feeling gets into the dance and song. When they reach their limits they try to finish off together" (Theresa Kimaliakjut, Rankin Inlet, 1987).

Jenness (1922:224) alludes to this harmonious tension between dancer and singers. He notes that in a Copper drum dance the wife vigorously leads the singing in order that the husband may put forth his best efforts in dancing. Conversely, the dynamic relationship can be influenced by the drum dancer who may "call on his audience to sing louder if the chorus is not maintained with full vigor and will himself raise his voice to its highest pitch."

The preceding discussion makes clear that although gaps and confusions abound in the ethnographic literature as to what constitutes a standard drum dance, obviously, rules governing drum dance performances do exist. The fluidity of drum dance structure reflects the emphasis of a mobile hunting society where individuals operate "in tune with the world about them and their ideas of the world within themselves" (H. Brody, 1987:33). Accordingly, I append the following page that summarizes the conventional core setting factors. In brief, a normative structure of participant rules governing drum dance occasion is presented.

Table 17.

THE CORE SETTING NORMS:
EVALUATIVE CRITERIA AND PROCEDURAL RULES

Song Making	The Composer/Dancer	The Drum Dancer	The Singers
1. Traditionally the husband composed the pisiq for public consumption	1. Normally male	1. Normally male, a strength component to wield the drum	1. Normally women
2. He teaches his wife who transmits it to the community	2. Song ownership = a personal or family-owned song	2. A status of every man. Qualified by age/experience, and young dancers learning to dance	2. The lead singer is usually the wife or mother. Qualified by: - the father of a young son - a special or male friend
3. The community = the collective song repertoire	3. The song repertoire stresses male-authored songs		3. The chorus is usually anyone who learns the song. Qualified by: the women's rehearsal-practice.
	4. Traditionally individuals possessed 20 or 30 songs.		4. Normally the drum dancer does not sing. Qualified by: - the drum dancer encouraging the singers

Song Requirements	Drum Requirements	The Drum Dancer's Requirements	Partnership Requirements
	The correct timbre =	"A Good Dancer" =	
1. Learning the text and the melody i.e. content	1. Tuning procedures &	1. Familiarity with the song, i.e. pulse	1. Establishing a partnership between the singer and the drum dancer
2. The context of text = a personal identity with the circumstances of compostion	2. The correct movements to produce a "sound that is not flat" i.e. "boom-choo"	2. Strength and endurance	2. Maintaining this co-operative/improvised relationship between the singer(s) and the drum dancer.
3. A single dance/song can be long or short.		3. Rhythmic co-ordination	3. Finishing together
4. The option of increasing duration by repeating, juxtaposing, or slowing the song		4. A humble stance/attitude	4. The Song/Dance teams "not taking too long between turns."
5. The individual singer not singing too loud *in comparison* to the other singers		5. A distinctive/personal style, i.e. subtle movement variations derived from repetitive patterns	
		6. The significance of breath shouts to convey an intensely personal aesthetic.	
		7. Intuitively assessing entry on the basis of a near-equal skill achievement.	

VARIATIONS IN DRUM CONSTRUCTION

Plate 19. THE LONG-SHAFTED HANDLE CHARACTERISTIC OF NETSILIK DRUMS

This Pelly Bay drum dancer grasps the long-shafted handle, characteristic of drums in the Pelly Bay area, i.e., Netsilik Inuit.

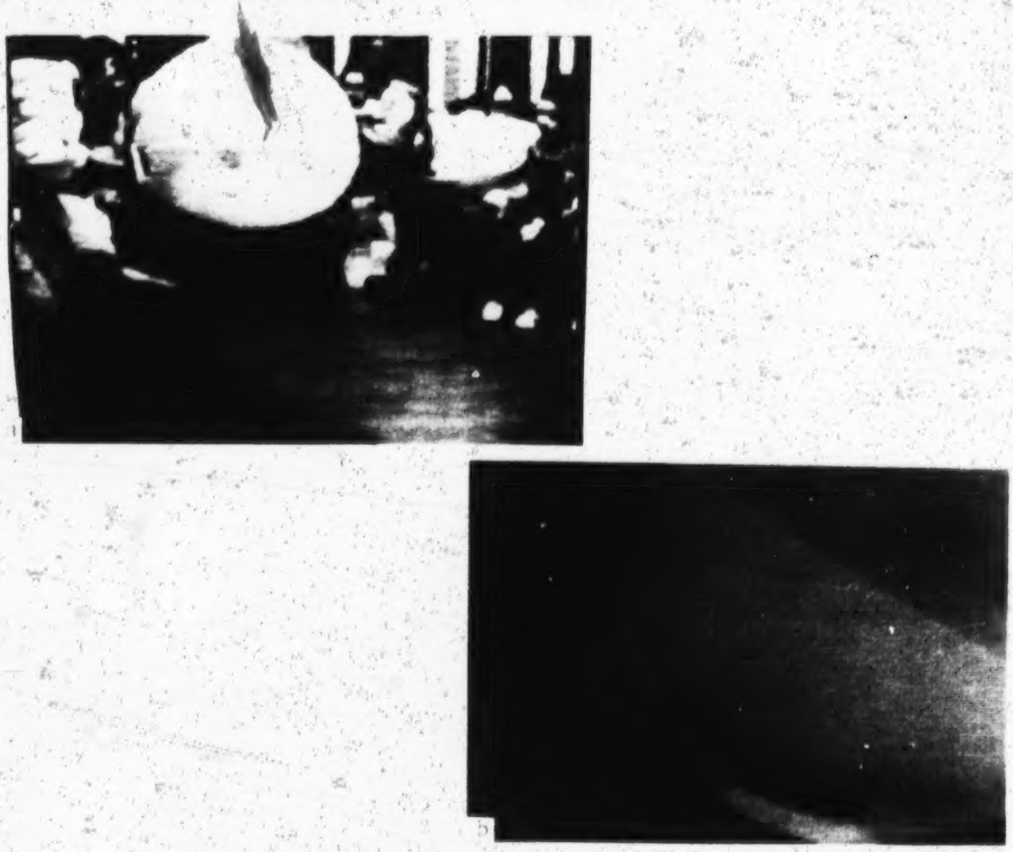


Plate 20. a,b. DRUM CONSTRUCTED WITH A SMALL HOLE CLOSE TO THE HANDLE

Note the small hole in the skinhead close to the handle. This Eskimo Point drum is made by the skilled craftsman and drum dancer Casimir Nutargunik.

Plate 21. a-d. THE DIRECT PASSING OF THE DRUM

At the Pelly Bay Elders Conference (Hall Beach, 1986) Ollie Ittinuar from Rankin Inlet directly passes the beater, *Katuk*, and then the drum, *Qilaut*, to Noah Piuqaatuq of Igloolik.

PART III. ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER VI. TRADITIONAL DISPLAY FEATURES: THE CONDITIONS OF LIGHT, ACOUSTICS, DRESS, AND THE NATURE OF THE PERFORMANCE SPACE

LONGING FOR SONG CONTEST

They say it is a joy
to listen to the song
A joy to listen
when a famous singer
lifts his voice
and rocks in dance
and look!
When the famous singer
lifts his voice
and dances to the drum
then all the ermine skins
that decorate his fur coat
flutter

(Excerpt from Copper Song. Translated by Lowenstein 1973:67)

Women, women
Young women
Aj, they come
In fine new furs
Women, women
Young women

Aj - ja - japa - pe
Bring out your hair ornmanets!
We're only girls
Rejoicing with each other!
Aj - ja - japa - pe

(Excerpt from Iglulik's Women's Dancing Song. Translated by Lowenstein 1973:67)

INTRODUCTION

In the last phase of my investigation to setting factors, I examine the physical properties that represent the integral aspects of traditional drum dance. These are the display features that deal with the physical properties of lighting, acoustics, dress, and the nature of space; the presentation of dance strongly linked to a familiar representation of Inuit life. The aim, therefore, is to expose the errors of all quasi-romantic themes that would separate culture from the actual material conditions of social life. In brief, the performance arena itself articulates conventional experiences. For example, the dancer's dress symbolically identified the individual as a member of a particular hunting culture. In short, the traditional drum dance was embedded in the context of everyday life and subject to the same cultural forces.

A. THE LIGHTING

The simplicity of the igloo design and the whiteness of a newly erected edifice caused the Arctic explorer, C. F. Hall (1879:151) to remark that "it was one of the most chaste pieces of architecture ever seen." Over time, however, the walls would lose their whiteness under layers of soot, and repeated thawings and freezings would make the house colder and less comfortable. Large festive houses, however, were always freshly constructed for special occasions and their pristine white walls provided a scrim, or white background effect. Accordingly, the dancing figures were silhouetted, casting shadows against the igloo walls.

The low burning lamps were not lit especially for dancing but rather lit early in the morning and burned all day before being extinguished at bedtime. The crescent shaped vessels or kudlik were filled with seal oil, edged with a wick of moss, and ignited with a burning tuft of moss (see Appendix IV:1). In addition to its usefulness for purposes of drying and heating, it emitted a soft and pleasant light.

A single lamp was usually placed at the end of a long snow bench adjoining the bed-sitting area. If more than one woman lived within the family dwelling, an additional light was cast since each woman tended her own lamp. Generally, the lamp light was emitted from arched doorways, sometimes from the back of the domed dwelling, and frequently, a lamp near the entrance warmed the incoming air.

The 'Qaqqi' was similarly heated by one or more lamps. In addition to soapstone lamps placed in the aforementioned areas, festive occasion lamps might be placed on a raised centre "snow pillar five feet hight" (Boas 1964:193). Rasmussen (1932:130) describes another lighting arrangement: "up in the dome of the hall two niches had been cut into the snow blocks and there small blubber lamps burned and threw a mysterious light down."

The indirect lighting effects created by soapstone lamps were enhanced by the filtering of outdoor light through ice-paned windows and porous snowblocks. Accordingly, the time of day and season, obviously influenced the lighting effects of drum dance events. Amundsen (1905, II:23) records a December drum dance performance at which the room was

> lit up by the moon so brightly that we could easily have read by its rays - the large gala igloo erected for the occasion towered above the rest, with bright light streaming inevitably from all its windows ... the hut looked very well inside being brilliantly illuminated with light pastilles.

There are also records of dimly lit drum dance events. Although a shortage of blubber might have contributed to this situation, it is also plausible that the result was due to drum dance merging with seance. P. Freuchen (1961: 226) mentions such an occasion where the lamps were put out, "except for a tiny flame; the light was so faint that we could barely see each other's faces." Also, Birket-Smith (1929, V (1):271) refers to a drum dance in the Eskimo Point region; the event described as taking place in a "half dark tent with many skin-clad, long-haired figures." Similarly, Marsh (1946:20) observes a dance where a "huge shadow thrown by the drum and his figure danced across the surface of the bell-like tent, intermittently blotting out the faces of the women and men sitting around."

These descriptions illustrate how traditional lighting can contribute an indispensible dramatic quality to traditional drum dance performances. Specifically, low-burning lamps served not only to provide warmth and light, but shadowed forms evoked feelings of mystery related to both intimacy and fear. (See Appendix IV:2 for Marsh's painting of an Eskimo Point Drum Dance.*)

B. THE ACOUSTICS

Traditionally, the correct formal properties of sound were associated with the formal properties of the indoor igloo space. The correct drum dance space was described as being "not too cold for the singers, and not too cold for the drum" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987); a temperature where maximum upper ranges could not exceed a few degrees above zero Centigrade since otherwise, obviously, melting would occur.

In addition to its familiar comforts, the igloo's hollow, vaulted chamber offered ideal acoustics. As one informant states:

> making a vibratory sound with the drum is
> different in an igloo, different in a
> skin tent, a house or in a building.
> (Casimir Nutargunik, Eskimo Point, 1987)

This ordering displays an aesthetically acute sense of sound. The preference for igloo acoustics was explained

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[*] Although this painting took place under artificial ~~light~~, she explains that it was "similar to the lighting effect inside a double caribou tent (and) remains a true picture of Eskimo life" (circa 1933).

as "it is best to have drum dancing in a cool place ... if it is too warm, the skin is dry (and) the voice goes up" (Donald Suluk, Eskimo Point, 1986).

C. THE DRESS

The Special Performance Dress of the Copper

Only in the Copper region of the Canadian Central Arctic did the traditional outfit for drum dancing differ from the everyday dress. The distinctive costume consisted of a dress-like jacket and a bonnet-styled hat of summer caribou skin, worn with the short haired fur facing outward.* Inserts of white caribou fur contrasting with the darker fur provided the decorative design. The design of the jacket dress often included white panels in the chest area and narrow or broad white bands edging the dress (see Appendix IV:3 and 5). The panels might also be designed with narrow strips of ochre-stained caribou hide and dark seal skin. Long strips of caribou hide might also be incorporated into the jacket dress, particularly along the bottom edge. In general, the geometrical patterns of the jacket dress were highly individualistic, whereas the skin strips sewn together for the hat indicated a more uniform pattern.

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*Jenness (1922:224) also relates that Copper "fashion ordains the wearing of gloves while dancing." Shoes of white seal skin "crimped all around the bottom and (with) a black triangular insertion over the toes" are also mentioned. The explorer Amundsen similarly reports that Netsilik dancers wore special caps and gloves. Only Jenness (1945:215) makes note that sometimes the dancing outfit included a "ceremonial knife of walrus."

The ritual function of the costume was identified in several ways. One or more animal skins often hung on the dress. One such costume as described by Jenness (1928:291) had eight ermine skins attached in a uniform pattern, at the central back, across the shoulder blades and at the top of the shoulders (Appendix IV:4 and 5). The ermine served as a powerful amulet since despite its small size it was one of the most cunning and successful predators in the Arctic.* In addition to its preeminence on the hoodless dress, a simple white winter ermine pelt often ornamented the crown of the special hat. Apparently, the skilled dancer's well-timed head movement enabled the pendant, white ermine pelt to be rotated in a swirling motion above the head (Driscoll 1987:190).**

The other distinctive feature of the dance hat was that it was adorned at the crown with the "head and neck of a loon, so split that the yellow bill projected upwards" (Jenness 1928:291).*** (Appendix III:6 a-b).

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*A Holman informant explained to B. Driscoll (1987:191) that the ermine was revered because it was both "smart and sneaky."

**Driscoll does not refer to her source of information on this important movement feature. It is interesting to note that Chinese drum dancers today are noted for their ability to manipulate the head and to draw circular and spiral spatial patterns from ribbons attached to a dance hat. In communication with Joann Kealiinohomoku, I am told that "this is a major feature of the Korean farmer's dance."

***The loon's head ornament is believed to have originated from the use of a complete loon-skin headdress, such as was current on the Arctic coast of Alaska down to the second half of the 19th century.

Although the typically styled bonnet had only one upright beak, the dance hat might also be made of two loon beaks (Appendix VI:6a). This unusual feature stimulated Driscoll to offer several symbolic interpretations. She suggests that the loon is a bird admired among the Inuit for (1) its mysterious song, (2) its dance during courtship ritual, (3) its prominence in Inuit mythology as a symbol of artistic human nature or love of personal adornment,* and (4) its ability to dive, suggesting its mystical association with the sea goddess, Nuliajuk.

The design of the hat was either bonnet-shaped or a circular skull cap. The latter is "reputed to have been worn by women (and) is extremely rare" (Driscoll 1987:190). The common feature of the bonnet-styled hat was that it tied under the chin and was generally trimmed with "alternating patterns of narrow strips of white caribou fur, dark seal skin, and/or ochre stained caribou" (Driscoll 1987:190). The design of the bonnet-styled hat emphasized vertical stripes (Appendix IV:6a). One example of the rare women's hat (Appendix IV:6b) illustrates a design that combines vertical stripes with a crown of concentric circles; the alternating pattern informed by white caribou fury and ochre- stained leather. However, because few dancing hats existed in the community, they were often lent freely to kinsmen, so that during the evening's entertainment the same cap might appear on several heads, both men's and women's (Jenness 1922:224).*

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*In this context the story is told of a loon decorated by the raven (Appendix VI:4).

The Standard Ethnic Dress of the Central Eastern Inuit

Drum dancing occasions in the Central Eastern Arctic did not feature a special ceremonial dress but rather exhibited the dress of everyday life. Thus, the highly prized products of Inuit women's skill of sewing and creating decorative designs, as well as a concern for general wear and comfort were displayed during drum dance performances. Although traditional Arctic clothing consisted of two layers,** only the inner shirt or atigi was worn in warmer situations. Accordingly, this inner shirt provided the basic performance dress on drum dance occasions (Appendix IV:7-9). In general, despite the fact that the jacket dress varied in accordance with male and female roles, in the four main geographic areas of the Canadian North*** and the regions within these areas, a loose fitting jacket with sloping shoulders was the basic form of dress.

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*Specifically, he reports that "Ikpakhuah wore a beautiful striped cap at a dance one evening; half an hour later his niece was wearing it; then soon after his nephew" (Jenness 1922:224).

**The inner garment is composed of softer, finer fur and faced the wearer's body; the outer garment with longer, heavier fur faced outwards.

***Referring to the (1) MacKenzie Delta, (2) the Central Arctic (constituted by the Copper, Netsilik, Iglulik, and Keewatin regions), (3) the Southern Baffin Island area, and (4) Labrador and Northern Quebec.

However, unlike the Copper dress, the Central Eastern dress was hooded. Moreover, although the fur side of the atigi faced inwards, fur inserts were common on the skin side as decorative designs. In contrast, the Copper jacket had the skin side facing inwards and an outward decorative design was formed by contrasting fur patterns. However, in both cases, because the clothing was made of skins, it conveyed a symbolic import of communicating the wearer's metaphorical bond with the animal world. Traditional dress, therefore, served as an emphatic statement of an Inuit's cultural identity to a hunting society.

Historically, the dress more obviously stressed the identity between man and animal since the long rectangular panel hung down like a tail* (Appendix IV:9-10). This dramatic living metaphor was noted by Jenness (1946:12):

> It was customary to peak the hood of the coat, and this peaking, with the fur upstanding ears and the long tail trailing between the legs, gave a stooping Eskimo so close a likeness to a caribou that it sometimes deceived his dogs hauling the sled behind him and spurred them to greater effort.

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*The tail was shortened, probably due to the late 19th century influences. Two watercolors from the Forbisher expedition (1577) illustrate the clothing styles worn by men and women in Southern Baffin Island at the time of European contact.

Although this description refers to an outer jacket, the same imagery appears to have been promoted by the inner jacket used for drum dance occasions. A Rankin Inlet informant (Joe Patterk, 1987) recalls:

> In the old days the clothes of the dancer matched the caribou skin. Fringes from the clothing flew from side to side (and) sometimes the fringes hit the drum creating an echoing sound and making loud noises. Often the dancer's hair flew from side to side. Cries were heard. Sometimes the dancer could be anything - sometimes an animal - any animal.

The importance of animal imagery is, however, apparently secondary to the multivocal meaning of the dance which stresses that the drum dancer "could be most anything" (Ollie Ittinuar, Rankin Inlet, 1987). In other words, the drum dancer does not employ mimetic foot and head movements in an attempt to present an uncanny animal likeness.*

As in the Copper jacket, amulets of bone, skin and teeth are commonly incorporated into the design of the inner jacket. The shaman, hunter, and dancer all recognized the power of the ermine skin to enhance a person's skills and offer protection against physical and spiritual harm. Specifically, because drum dance events often occurred under the potentially precarious conditions of welcoming visitors who might be dangerous strangers, and rival situations associated with trading or settling long standing social disputes, the ermine skin amulets also often appeared on the inner jacket. Generally, the amulet was attached to the middle of the back, and if an amulet was not present, ornamentation at this spot was recognized as "something special" or "a derivation of the amulet" (Birket-Smith 1929:202; Appendix IV:7).

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*The emphasis upon animal imagery associated with the dance can also be viewed in present day Inuit prints. See Appendix IV:17.

Traditional ornamentation also included patterns derived from wide or narrow fur inserts in which bands of white and dark caribou or dark seal skin were either placed within the jacket dress or decorated the edge. Frequently the bottom edge was also ornamented with long strips of caribou which served as "decoration and at the same time prevented the edges of the frock from curling" (Birket-Smith 1929:200).

The influx of western trading items obviously provided a wide array of material with which to decorate the parka dress. Supplementing the traditional use of amulets, items of colored cloth, metal coins, and tiny beads of glass were especially valued"* (Driscoll 1986: 193). The availability of beads during the 18th and 19th century increased the intricacy of bead work design not only on the women's (singers) jacket dress, or amauti but also on the men's inner jacket or atigi.

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*Coins, lead shot, spoons, beads, and even metal tags from tobacco containers were adapted for parka decoration (Driscoll 1980:17).

As early as 1821, Lyon (1821-23: 1970:199) notes that in the Iglulik region the men's inner jacket "frequently had little strips of beads hanging from the shoulders or small of the back." By the time of Lyon's departure (1823) the "crews of the Hecla and Fury had more than doubled the number of beads in the possession of the local residents" (Driscoll 1980:17). Jill Oakes (1987:16) reports that in the Eskimo Point and Rankin Inlet areas, the beads were made available through the Hudson's Bay Company as early as 1791-1793. Although the Hudson's Bay Company stopped trading by the end of the eighteenth century, the whaling industry from 1860-1875 continued the supply. The men's inner jacket in this region was heavily beaded until the 1950s (Appendix IV:8).

Although the decorative patterns reflected local styles, the art of beadwork was perfected in the Central Arctic region (Driscoll 1980:18). Here, the brightly colored cloth backing provided a wide variety of design motifs. The designs often covered the areas of the chest, the centre back, across the shoulder blades, and around the crown of the head. The wide or narrow embroidered edges provided borders around the hood, the cuffs, and the lower edge of the jacket dress.

The purpose of these decorative designs upon the dancer's dress was that it not only focused the attention upon the specific body part that exemplify the movement vocabulary of the drum dance, -- i.e., the action points of knees, wrists, head and upper torso -- but more importantly contributed to the overall motions derived from the freely hanging ornamentation. Thus the swinging pendular effect of amulets, strands of beads, fringes of caribou, and even long hair* visibly increased the movement range and enhanced the effort qualities. Accordingly, these visual features increased the kinesthetic content; the spectacle more aesthetic. The effect is noted by Rasmussen (1932:130): "over the back and shoulders the men have skins of white ermines that stream like pennants during their movements." Similarly, Jenness (1922:221) refers to "tasseled fringes" and "great pains have been taken to embroider" the boots of men and women with red and white strips of skin." Marsh's (1946:20) observation of a drum dance at Eskimo Point clarifies the fact that even the lack of a special dress and adherence to repetitive step pattern did prevent an expanded spatial range; the quality of flow derived from the traditional dress. He notes that the dancers "long hair streamed in the breeze caused by his movement and that of the drum, and the tail of his artiggi swayed to and from as he moved up and down."

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*Lyon (1970:202) records that the Iglulik young men had the "greatest partiality for side hair (which) sometimes grew nearly two feet in length."

The Singer's Dress

In contrast to the men's clothing where animal imagery reflected the masculine world of the hunt, the women's wide hood, full jacket and curved front and back flaps drew attention to her maternal and procreative role. The additional material used in women's garments often encouraged patterns to be elaborated; the decoration highly individualistic in design (Appendix IV: 11, 12, and 13). Hall's account (1879:98) reports that "on the breast they had masonic-like aprons, the groundwork of which was a flaming red color ornamented with glass beads of many colors" (Appendix IV:14).

Although the curved apron-like appendages* of the jacket dress functioned as a convenient windbreaker or "apron upon which to lay a baby" (Driscoll 1980:14) at drum dance performances the back flap served as a convenient seat upon which to sit and the front flap provided a place for the hands to be tucked while singing

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*The length and cut of the flaps varied according to region. Amongst the Igluingmuit and Padlemuit (the latter located on the West Hudson Bay coast and inland) the front panel falls almost to knee length and the back extends to almost the ankles (Driscoll 1980:15).

(Appendix IV:12) An Eskimo singer (Alice Suluk, 1986) informed me that the singers often held onto the front flap in order to "increase their concentration while sometimes singing with closed eyes."

Personal Adornment

Personal possessions frequently used to complement the everyday but special dress of both men and women included their combs, bandeaus, and a variety of hair styles. Earrings, necklaces and bracelets could also be worn by the women (Appendix IV:15). The bandeaus, made from skin pelts or hammered brass or copper, often included tassle-like ornaments that were attached to either side of the head. Although different hairstyles were worn by the men, the side hair was generally left long.*

The women of the Central Arctic characteristically styled their hair by parting it in the centre and plaiting the hair on either side of the head to hang in front of the shoulder. However, sometimes on festive occasions the women's plaits would be stiffened by wrapping the hair around a length of wood, antler or bone. These hair-sticks, approximately a foot long, were then covered with strips of light and dark caribou fur. Hall (1879:98) notes in addition that white and black skin thongs were worn by Iglulik women who had sons, and women who had no sons wore only black. In the late 19th and early 20th century the hair style remained the same, but new trade materials of colored cloth, beads, and even broom stick handles resulted in a new variety of decorations in hair design.

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*Accordingly, "whoever cuts his hair cuts away a part of his soul" (Rasmussen 1929:182).

Finally, the Inuit historically practiced tatooing as a form of personal adornment. In the Central and Eastern Arctic both the face and body were often covered with the characteristic blue-black patterns of dots and lines (Appendix IV:16).

Further Considerations of Dress

Although the role of the drum dancer was emphasized by dressing up, the question might also be asked if the role of the dancer was emphasized by dressing down. My informants consistently stated that despite the endurance demanded by the dance, the drum dancer performed fully clothed even though they might sweat profusely. This information, however, conflicts with Boas's assertion (1964:195) that the dancer "always strips the upper part of the body, keeping on only trousers and boots," and Hall's account (1879:99) of a Repulse Bay event where performers "stripped off their jackets, to be naked from the loins up." Thalbitzer's Greenland photos confirm these historical accounts of dressing down. So, how does one explain the apparent contradiction? Do the statements of my informants reflect changing standards of dress associated with Christian notions of propriety? Perhaps, but on the other hand, since Boas's and Hall's accounts appear to refer to combative drum dance occasions associated with wrestling matches and fisticuffs, perhaps the jacket dress was removed only to prevent damage being done to the skins.

Whatever the case, it should be noted here that in contrast to Southern propriety which considers the display of sweat during performance in bad taste, the traditional view is that sweat is natural and "good for the body" (N. Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1987). This is corroborated by Rasmussen (IX:134) who relates that drum dancing "took so much out of the performers that they are usually a mass of perspiration when they retire." Also, Birket-Smith (1929:27) relates that the "perspiration pours down the dancer's face." Indeed, sweat may have been valued in drum dance performances simply because it symbolized the Inuit ideal of individual achievement through strenuous effort.

At this point, the weight of the drum dancer's clothes should also be considered. The inner jacket normally consisted of two or three skins weighing approximately two to three pounds each,* so that a total jacket weighed approximately four to six pounds. The weight of the jacket combined with the weight of the lower garments and a two to four pound drum means that the traditional drum dancer carried approximately ten or more pounds during the performance. This fact suggests that the clothing weight could in part contribute to enforcing a movement vocabulary associated with a limited range of action and effort.

D. THE NATURE OF THE PERFORMANCE SPACE

Traditionally, the display features of lighting, acoustics, dress and personal adornment enlivened the space in which drum dance occurred. However, since the dancer's 'presence' is linked to a heightened awareness of space, it should not surprise the reader that my discussion of display features leads to a consideration of the nature of space. Although the igloo's physical properties have been delineated earlier, the need to be connected to a place, to banish thoughts and fears of homelessness must surely have impacted strongly in the minds and hearts of the Inuit people. Thus, in a society where an unequal distribution of primary resources dictated a highly mobile lifestyle, domestic space was enormously valuable. Accordingly, the drum dance space reflects this perception since circular space offers intimate experiences and feelings associated with a sense of belonging and protection. As such, 'igloo' could be added to words like egg, nest, and country, that constitute Bachelard's list of images of poetic space.*

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*In conversation with University of Edmonton anthropology professor Dr. C. Hickey.

The strong sense of place can also be corroborated from mythology. Protagonists live on the coast or by the sea. Animals have homes on the land or in the air. And even the land, the air, the sea and the ice have the equivalent of domestic domains (Carpenter 1968). In songs, physical spaces are housed in the spirit originated by place names. Accordingly, the Inuit identify themselves in terms of a regional consciousness; of a place or places where they had land (Brody 1975:127) Thus, place names serve not only to fix geographical points but also to charge physical places with emotional power.

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*The phenomenologist Gaston Bachelard in The Poetic of Space (1958:90) uses these images to illustrate aspects of spatial phenomenology.

Similarly, when a solo drum dancer performs in the core space he may be said to be emotionally located within a place that symbolically represents the ideal home. His action can be seen as a moving confirmation of centre; the solo figure a spatial centre or archetypal image analogous to the mundis axis or tree of life. Thus, like these other symbols, the dancer's occupation of core space in the drum dance can be perceived as a promise of re-creation; of vital, human strength and power committed to reaffirming the very principles of life.

This abstract perception of space as a defined place with oneself as centre might also be viewed at a more concrete level. For example, in Inuit society the child is carried in the mother's hood for several years. Accordingly, during these formative years the child's space is physically limited. Not surprisingly, therefore, the perception of space refers again to a sense of boundary related to personal space. This is corroborated by the conclusions of Gagne's (1968:33-38) language study which notes that sets of words are used to define a precise categorization of space:

1. The speaker is always at the center of spatial categories.
2. Space is thought of as two-dimensional, and

3. the spatial world is divided into three basic pairs of opposites, which refer to here-there, up-down, and inside-outside.

Accordingly, it is evidenced that the solo drum dancer is in the centre of core space; the movement orientation emphasizes two-dimensional planar stresses and the use of space is characterized by both travelling and non-travelling activity; the latter stressing a body-bounce (up-down) activity. In addition, a flexed limb activity encourages a middle-near range. In short, the Inuit spatial language structure can be perceived to succinctly outline the important spatial features of the Inuit drum dance form.

E. CONCLUSION

In summary, this chapter serves to make clear how traditional display features enhanced the dance form with physical properties. Specifically, in traditional drum dance the conventional setting conditions (lighting, acoustics, dress, and intimate space) were integral aspects of the dance; the features encouraging the dance form to be endowed with metaphoric qualities. Although it is obvious that a limited movement vocabulary characteristic of Inuit drum dance is partially due to traditional igloo space, it is also suggested that the amount of dress covering the body, as well as its relative weight, influenced the movement style. More explicit, however, is the awareness that the functional nature of the dress-jacket tends to emphasize the primary movement feature of the body being divided into upper and lower units, as well as the jacket length stressing important knee action associated with the primary feature of repetitive steps.

Furthermore, and perhaps most significant, is the awareness that the design of free hanging ornamentation and long hair styles increased the kinetic content of the dance; the strong, functional effort actions complemented with qualities of free flow and increased spatial range. In brief, display features critically influence drum dance performance. Accordingly, a discussion of traditional structural properties serves to illustrate that (1) contemporary performances are mitigated against when they are held in large spaces devoid of proper acoustics and intimate space, and that (2) the importance of the dancer's subtle movements often go unnoticed without the contribution of traditional dress.

CHAPTER VII THE IMPACT OF EXTERNAL FORCES

Life was glorious
When dancing in the dance house
But did dancing in the dance
house bring me joy?
No! Ever was I so anxious
That I could not recall
the song I was to sing,
Yes, I was ever anxious
Avi yai ya.

Fine it was in the dance house
down there
But I was merely troubled
Because I remembered not the
song I was to sing
Always I felt fear in me
In the dance house down there
Because I turned tired and
no longer
Could manage the drum.

(Excerpt from *The Dead Man's Song*, Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos, Rasmussen 1932:137).

It terrifies me here
On hearing the loud sound,
That one
Of singittaq's is drum
How am I going to move about
in dancing
A greater space than this one
It being hard to find?
It terrifies me here
On hearing the loud sound.

(Excerpt from Roberts and Jenness 1925:417)

INTRODUCTION

These song texts express a nineteenth century drum dancer's anxiety about his ability to remember the song, as well as his ability to actually manage the drum and dance in the actual "greater" space of performance. As the previous chapters have shown, the dancer's fundamental concern is to fulfill the social function of the idiom. Specifically, the aim of drum dance is to create and share a communally satisfying emotional experience. This is achieved through a complex interweaving of both individual and universal experiences; the social experience aimed at each individual becoming part of the larger whole -- and the larger whole becoming the inheritance of each individual. Thus the performance does not aim to articulate a complex set of intellectual concepts, but instead recognizes a common reality that concretely strengthens a traditional way of life.

Although the opening songs of this chapter relate that anxiety is not an uncommon personal response to drum dancing, the general response is frequently referred to in terms of a communal situation where "joy and happiness" are to be shared. An Eskimo Point informant (Donald Suluk, 1986) relates, the purpose of "drum dancing is to show that you are carrying on with your life ... to show that you are having a good time even when there are hard times and the family has passed on. It is important to be careful about the song and the way you dance, for drum dancing is a certain way of showing that you care."

Obviously, abrupt social changes in the twentieth century have altered the shared reality of Inuit. As a result, it is not surprising that confused feelings about drum dancing are evident amongst Northern peoples today.

In order to understand how these changes have made it increasingly difficult for the idiom to serve its cultural emotional functions, it is important that the reader consider the historical developments that have radically changed the material and non-material culture of the Inuit. Accordingly, the following cursory survey assesses the impact whalers, traders, missionaries, and government agencies have had upon the dance. My intention here is not to set the stage for an explicit comparison between past and contemporary drum dance events, but rather to emphasize that drum dancing symbolically embodies an Inuit identity that belongs to both the past and present. Indeed, investigation into the performance process is possible only because individuals and communities have song/dance traditions of which they are proud. I, therefore, offer this historical review in order that the reader might appreciate how Inuit drum dance has survived even in the face of incursive and often threatening forces of historical change.

A. THE WHALERS

Regular European contact with some Inuit groups began as early as the late seventeenth century. However, the contact remained sporadic until the early nineteenth century. At that time, the whaling industry was "that century's counterpart of the petroleum industry," and the whale oil, baleen (whale bone), and walrus ivory earned tremendous profits on the European market (Brody 1987:191).*

Jenness (1964:11) informs us that since the Scottish whalers operating out of Pond Inlet used swift and efficient steamers instead of the slower, older sailing vessels that were often provisioned for two year junkets, they "never became as intimate with the Eskimos of North Baffin Island as did their fellow countrymen and the Americans, with the Baffin Islanders from the South." Accordingly, the increased contact caused by the need to overwinter occurred first in the more Southernly regions of the Arctic.

However, by the 1880s the presence of whalers in the early spring had become more common. Although contact had at first been minimal, the Inuit were perceived as a crucial source of knowledge and labor. Winter sites were chosen for their proximity to Inuit settlements since Inuit hunters provided fresh meat throughout the winter, their dog teams served as transportation to haul whale blubber from the ice floe to the ships, and they acted as guides during the spring hunt. Inuit women sewed fur clothing, sleeping bags, and fulfilled the role of seasonal wives below the deck (Brody 1987:193).

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*The oil provided "illuminants and lubricants" and the baleen "held the place of plastics in an enormous range of manufactured goods, including corset stays, skirt hoops, umbrella ribs, fishing rods, riding crops, brushes, window blinds, upholstery stuffing, carriage springs, luggage, and fences."

By the end of the commercial whaling period (circa 1912), the Inuit, in return for services, had received an array of manufactured goods and clothing.* Tragically, the Inuit were also recipients of widespread epidemics since they had no immunity to the viral infections common among the Europeans. A less obvious, but more benign, effect of the whalers was the influence of Scottish reels and sets upon the Inuit population. The Inuit quickly adopted the new music and dances first seen on board the whaling ships and at whaling stations. Round dancing became widely accepted and is today regarded by many Inuit communities as a part of their own traditional heritage.

It is interesting to note, as an aside, that the steady duple pulse of round dancing is similar, albeit faster than, the rhythm of drum dancing.** Moreover, the gender roles in the dances are not dissimilar since they are characterized by co-operative but independent roles, rather than the strong dominant and subordinate roles upon which the usual inequality of ballroom dancing is based, i.e., leading and following.

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*For example, rifles, tools, cooking utensils, cotton thread, steel scissors, and summer clothing of shawls, skirts, vests and trousers, as well as various kinds of hats, and even sunglasses.

**In reference to ballroom dance forms, J. Honigman's study (1965:34) of Eskimo townsmen in Frobisher Bay alludes to this emphasis upon duple pulse since "few Eskimos know how to waltz," preferring instead a "relatively staid foxtrot."

B. THE FUR TRADERS

Inuit dependency on the white man's goods and services increased further with the protracted growth of the fur trade. Although the Hudson's Bay Company achieved its monopoly position as early as 1670,* trading remained centered in the James Bay area until the nineteenth century. Since the expansion into the sub-Arctic and Arctic was sporadic, the effects of the fur trade obviously varied from time to time and from place to place. However, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century results were nearly everywhere the same. The effect on the Inuit was that a society of independent hunters had been transformed into a society of dependent trappers.** The difficult transition involved a process wherein the reception of valued white man's goods (e.g. superior weapons and tools), and accompanying forms of addiction (such as tea, sugar and tobacco) radically altered traditional patterns of movement and systems of authority. In brief, the intense community life that encouraged communal gatherings for practical, social and recreational purposes began to erode.

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*The charter granted from Charles II provided the Hudson's Bay Company with the right, indeed, obligation, to administer the vast territory which was then called Prince Rupert Land.

**In the early 1900s the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly was challenged by French American rivals. The Revillion Frere Company "matched post for post with the Hudson's Bay Company along the western and northern shore of the Labrador Peninsula, and even invaded the west coast of Hudson Bay by erecting stations at Baker Lake and Repulse Bay" (Jenness 1964:23). The number of new posts that the Hudson's Bay Company opened between 1910 and 1920 attest to the intensity of this struggle; for example, Chesterfield 1912, Cape Dorset 1913, Frobisher Bay 1914, Baker Lake 1916, Repulse Bay 1919.

Travel patterns based on a fur trade economy no longer encouraged the traditional reunion of families each autumn on the sea ice (Jenness 1964:97). For four or five months in the winter, during the conventional drum dance season, Inuit deserted their cooperative hunting grounds since this was the time when fur pelts were at their prime. Because the white fox, a most prized pelt, is a solitary animal that wanders great distances, "families scattered to individual trapping places, each a day's journey from its neighbor" (Jenness 1964:97).

Thus, although family bonds remained strong, communal bonds that interlocked large numbers of nuclear families diminished. Accordingly, the kinship system based on mutual aid and in the sharing of campsites began to weaken. In brief, occasions for re-affirming the song/ dance partnerships that had always helped establish and strengthen communal bonds became more and more infrequent. Moreover, although individual families always had the traditional right to voluntarily relocate by moving outside their original region, irregularities in the population cycle of the white fox and the depletion of game in certain areas led to new emigration practices that were not by choice but initiated as a response to economic pressure. Since families were induced to separate from their particular groups, the distinct customs and dialects that defined them were discouraged.

Some hunters were reluctant to change and made only limited concessions to the newcomers, fearing that a commitment to the fur trade would disrupt the delicate balance between human and animal movements, and that traditional values would be jeopardized. But ultimately they had no choice. The fur trade had established the whites as a dominant force in Inuit society. As Jenness (1964:100) reminds us, "it was the white man who decided where to set up the trading posts, what goods he should bring into the North, what prices he should demand for them and how much (in money or credit) he should pay the Eskimo for their labor."

The reluctant trapper was caught in the potentially pathetic situation of either relying upon white handouts and the generosity of neighbors, or attempting to travel back towards the caribou herds over a territory devoid of game (Brody 1987:199). Once a dependency upon the posts had been established, the Inuit were vulnerable to any changing conditions that altered the flow of goods and services dispensed by the traders. In consequence, extreme fluctuations in market prices related to the availability of fine furs increased dependency further, and morale continued to be lowered as welfare, extended credit, imported foods, and an imported language became the modern staples of Inuit life.

Obviously, as the hunter adjusted his life to the newcomer, confusion and accompanying problems of morale arose. At the same time, since the early days of Canadian economic development could not have been achieved without the co-operation of Inuit, the hunter enjoyed something of a prestigious role. As Brody (1987:201) points out, "the place of trappers in the economy as a whole gave them a real importance and certain dignity." Moreover, since the knowledge and practices of a successful trapper supplemented the older systems of hunting, it was not coincidental that a successful trapper was usually also a successful hunter. Thus, although the Inuit adapted to a trapping life, they managed to keep their identity as a people by preserving their notions of "respect, sharing, and spirituality" (Brody 1987:205).

C. THE MISSIONARIES

Following in the wake of the whalers and fur traders, the appearance of missionaries upon the Arctic scene provided a third powerful force that disrupted Inuit beliefs and practices. Although the motives of the three groups were diverse (the whalers' purpose being to use Inuit labor in exchange for goods, the traders' to use Inuit expertise to obtain a supply of fine furs, and the missionaries' to use Inuit souls to augment the supply in Christendom), their efforts were broadly united. In particular, the economic and evangelical inspirations led to effective alliances since the common aim of church and trader was to establish southern influences in a manner consistent with the Euro-Canadian system of authority. Thus, although the church sought to impose a moral superiority and the traders strove to achieve economic gain their infrastructures were the same since they embodied a policy of colonization. Something of the fervor of self-righteous and authoritarianism may be perceived in the notes of an Oblate missionary, Father Mouchard (1945), who prays for guidance in the following terms: "Good Lord, help me to instruct these poor people, to tear from their hearts and souls the many beliefs which have a tendency to return and bother them" (Brody 1975:17).

During the 1920s and 1930s missionaries from two major Christian denominations, Catholic and Anglican, vigorously competed to gain control of whole regions, villages, and even individuals within the same family.* The effects of this evangelical zeal was varied; the missionaries taught the Inuit to read and write in syllabics, but also contributed to the declining power of the shaman and the angakok whose authority had already been undermined in their inability to combat the new infectious diseases and their failure to prevent the disappearance of the great herds of caribou. Traditional religion was further weakened with the advance of technology. Rasumssen (1931:500) was told:

> Now that we have firearms it is almost as if we no longer need shamans or taboo, for now it is not so difficult to provide food as in the old days. Then we had to laboriously hunt the caribou at the sacred crossing places and there the only thing that helped was strictly observed taboos in combination with magic words and amulets. Now we can shoot caribou anywhere with our guns and the result is that we have lived ourselves out of the old customs ... we forget what we no longer have use for.

However, the Inuit generally responded to Christianity by developing forms of syncretism that allowed for the incorporation of Christian theology into their own spirituality. On the other hand, the missionaries vigorously opposed this practice of co-existence since they were committed to a spirituality that was strictly regulated in accordance with the teachings and rituals of the Church. Thus, once the missionaries had infiltrated their ideology into an existing belief system, they then used their powers and the growing dependence of the Inuit upon white man's goods to campaign effectively against traditional objects and practices associated with traditional Inuit animism. Specifically, the traditional song/dance was viewed as a means of "inviting in the spirits." Indeed, because dance activity promotes powerful emotions, it serves as a particularly successful medium to contact, summon and express spiritual 'power'. Accordingly, because this power resists authoritarian regimes, a drum dance performance event provided a serious threat to the Church's goal of conversion.

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*Between 1921 and 1931, the Anglicans and Roman Catholics doubled their missions in the North (Valee 1967). See Appendix I, Maps 5, 6, 7, for Jenness's maps (1946) that illustrate the rapid growth of missions and trading posts between 1903 and 1929.

The abandonment of traditional folk culture was also accelerated by the Christian perception that spirits were devils.* However, this belief was more common among the

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*Vallee (1967:175) states that in traditional Inuit belief the spirits were neither good nor bad in themselves. Agreeing with several writers (such as Turquetil 1927 and Birket-Smith 1929), he notes that the notion of evil spirits versus good spirits was introduced with Christianity.

Anglican teachers than among the Catholic priests.* In consequence, settlements that were initially missionized by Anglicans (such as the Eastern side of Hudson Bay, Baffin Island, Igloolik, and Baker Lake) seem more alienated from traditional song/dance culture than do those areas that were initially influenced by Roman Catholic missions (such as Chesterfield, Repulse Bay and Pelly Bay areas).** An exception to the Anglican influence of strongly combating the drum dance event appears to have occurred at Eskimo Point since Donald Marsh, a trained Anglican minister, appears himself to be sensitive to the dance.

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[*] In a hurried attempt to Christianize the natives, the Anglican Church permitted many evangelical teachers rather than ordained Anglican priests to spread the Gospel.

[**] Effects of the strong Anglican influence in Baker Lake were vividly portrayed by Vallee (1967:18). He describes a recording session organized by white women in which two elderly Inuit singers were persuaded to sing. However, "as the singers warmed to their songs and the audience were visibly moved and entered into the spirit of the session by volunteering song after song," the white women began to "dissociate themselves consciously from the performance. With mounting enthusiasm they progressed from innocent hunting to work songs about sex, thence to shamanistic songs ... The performance culminated in a fever of excitement by a demonstration of a seance, which one old lady performed using a tin plate as a drum. The next day, suffering torments of guilt, they were impelled to rush to the missionary and fall on their knees, confessing what they had done and asking that he banish Satansi from them. The other ladies also suffered hangovers and filled with remorse promised never to sing or drum again."

In general, an unconcealed rivalry between the two churches increased as the missionaries engaged in strategic manoeuvres to ensure government subsidies for their schools and hospitals. By the 1930s, the small settlements of Igloolik, Pond Inlet, Baker Lake, and Eskimo Point all had two missions.* Not surprisingly, by the 1940s Christianity had swept the North. Competing missions with conflicting teachings encouraged some individuals to interpret the Bible in light of their own beliefs. More than once this brought disaster.**

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*Jenness (1964:45) records six widely separated settlements or districts that contained two missions and "of which only one could count more than 220." Eskimo settlements containing two missions (circa 1930) were:

PLACE	POPULATION (approx.)	
Aklavik	411	(1930 census)
Coppermine	100	
Pond Inlet	170	(including Milne and Admiralty Inlets)
Baker Lake District	200	
Eskimo Point	125	
Southampten Island	80	

**Jenness (1964:67) relates how in 1941 on the Belcher Islands, the belief in the Second Coming of Christ "created a pathological condition of agitated expectancy among the Eskimo." When an individual returning from the Mainland announced that he was God and his companion Christ, dissensions arose between the believers and non-believers. As hysteria increased, those who did not believe the pronouncements were killed. One tragedy followed another, the hysteria encouraging one woman to announce that "Christ was coming over the ice to the island." In order that the women and children follow her to meet the Saviour, she persuaded them to remove their clothes. Although she survived and was later pronounced insane, several perished in the venture.

Jenness (1964:65) argues that the traditional community house gradually disappeared and in its place arose a little church, a symbol of a "new outlook and a new faith." Today many Inuit recognize what was imposed upon them. They also understand how traditional music helped to generate feelings of strength and to disseminate a collective awareness. Recently, an Inuit preacher, Armand Tagoona (the second Inuk in history to be an ordained deacon in the Anglican church), reflects that

> In the North, the authority to dance is in King David's Psalm 143:3, 'Let them praise His name in the dance.' In the past we should have danced in the cold church to keep warm (Petrone 1987:216).

Among Inuit today we can fairly speculate that the appeal of certain fundamentalist and low-church rituals is that they provide a quasi-shamanistic approach to religion; especially in their stress on "speaking in tongues" and in the power of an intensely felt faith that makes the miraculous possible. In brief, this branch of Christianity conforms with aboriginal ideas and psychology. Specifically, it uses song and dance to encourage the strong emotions that operate as an integral aspect of worship.

D. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Canadian administration policies began in the Far North in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Interest in the northern frontier was sparked by a desire to develop the country's economic strength through resource extraction and the assertion of sovereignty over the High Arctic Islands and waterways. By the 1920s the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had established posts in both the Arctic and Sub-Arctic. Operating as an extended arm of the government, they fulfilled a variety of roles, such as flying the flag, exploring the terrain, and ministering to the native people. The process included visiting the camps and labelling or numbering each Inuit in order to expedite the Mounted Police's function of distributing Canadian welfare, providing emergency relief supplies, and most significantly, explaining and enforcing Canadian law. Accordingly, the police were viewed by the Inuit as possessing tremendous power since they not only provided the important resources in times of need, but they also arrested, tried, and punished any who lived according to the traditional codes of behavior that broke with Canadian laws. In effect, the police taught that adhering to ancient customs that conflicted with Southern laws was tantamount to a criminal offence. Startling incidents of

Southern justice resulted, which in turn encouraged the Inuit to acquiesce through fear.*

In brief, by regulating economic, moral, and social change, the police consolidated the earlier efforts of traders and missionaries. Inuit dependency upon foreign agencies increased since the inducements that were offered were now sanctioned by the force of the law. Thus, new authorities also compounded dependency by institutional subordinacy (Brody 1987:213). By the 1950s every aspect of Inuit life had been radically altered, and the influences of frontier events had produced a cultural crisis. More serious than the spread of white agencies in the North was the lack of any government policy to combat the terrible epidemics that swept the different regions.** The people themselves were disappearing because of widepread disease and starvation.

However, even in this agonizing period of history, it appears that among certain groups there was a revival of drum dancing. This was explained to me by the Catholic priest, Father R. Courtemanche,* who stated that in the 1940s on the west coast of Hudson Bay the "people were in confusion - something had gone wrong with the old order. In 1943 and 1944 diptheria struck the Eskimo Point region and in six weeks the disease had killed sixty-six people." Even though certain leaders had been Christianized (the population at the time was one-third Roman Catholic, one-third Anglican and one-third Inuit religion), the sickness frightened them back to their old way. They picked up the drum again."**

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*In dramatic cases, Inuit were hanged or sentenced to long periods of imprisonment in southern jails for doing as their society requested, such as assisting people who wished to commit suicide, killing in self-defence, or removing a potentially dangerous deviant from their midst.

**In 1929, in order to combat the spread of influenza and tuberculosis, the government opened a six-bed hospital in the Coronation Gulf area. Two years later it was closed again because the Federal Government did not provide the necessary support (Jenness 1964:45).

At the same time, an anomaly existed in Igloolik. Father LeChat recalled that when an earlier Roman Catholic priest attempted to symbolize the importance of traditional customs by integrating the drum into the Roman Catholic ritual, "the people said NO - we gave that away and follow Christ now."

Events like these indicate that the new moral authority was neither universally accepted nor

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[*] Father Courtemanche arrived in Chesterfield in 1940. He subsequently went to Eskimo Point, Coral Harbor, Frobisher Bay and back to Chesterfield. Over seventy years old today, he has lived in Chesterfield for more than thirty-four years.

[**] Father Courtemanche referred to Donald Suluk's father as the Eskimo Point leader who led his people's return to drum dancing.

universally rejected. While some Inuit used the traditional song/dance as a mode of coping with white agencies, others were "reluctant to pass it on to their children and reluctant to express it publicly in the presence of Kabloona (white)" (Vallee, 1967:29).* It appears that in communities like Igloolik and Baker Lake the strong Anglican influence devalued oral and musical dance tradition to the extent that many Inuit became ashamed of a large part of their tradition. In 1967, Vallee (1967:182) informs us that in Baker Lake "drumming has virtually disappeared ... and Eskimo songs sung in concert .... are hardly every sung." Attempting to provide a perspective on the cultural discontinuity associated with the adoption of new "religion and secular forms of expressions such as folklore music, song, and dance," Vallee (1967:28) asks us to "imagine that in Canada, between the 1930s and 1950s there had occurred a mass conversion to Buddhism and a concomitant switch from the Euro-Canadian literacy and musical traditions to those of the Chinese. The adoption of Kabloona religion and expressive patterns among the Eskimo involves a break with tradition of almost the same magnitude."

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*Although Vallee is specifically referring to the Baker Lake community, the same effect may be surmised in other communities. In 1927 the Reverend Mr. Smith of the Anglican Church arrived at Baker Lake by boat from Chesterfield Inlet. Although the boat on its return was to bring a Roman Catholic priest into the community, the boat broke down. By the time another boat arrived from Eskimo Point, the Anglican missionary had secured the names of most of the Inuit in the immediate area. The story of conversion to Anglicanism continued with Canon James, and in 1952 the R.C.M.P.'s census related that only nineteen percent of the population of Baker Lake was Roman Catholic, the rest Anglican (Vallee 1967:178).

Notwithstanding this dramatic comparison, it is important to recognize that prior to World War II unique environmental conditions still provided hunting families with a certain amount of freedom associated with "special duties, clear purposes, and distance" (Brody 1973:29). Above all, distance provided the freedom associated with isolation since supplies were brought in only once a year on the summer ship. Communication to the outside world occurred by radio, and generally the white element in the community did not exceed a total number of four or five.

However, by the outbreak of World War II, a rapid growth in air transportation reduced the distances between posts and trapping grounds. Areas that had been inaccessible or had taken months to reach were now available in a few days.* In the northeast, major airfields were built for the Crimson Staging Route, the project ferrying aircraft to Europe and returning the heavy war casualties to North American hospitals (Armstrong, Rogers, Rowley 1988)*. A growing recognition of Canada's strategic defence position increased Southern infrastructures. By the mid 1950s, airbases operated as major refueling stations, and the DEW Line (Distance Early Warning Radar Line) had been established.

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*The effects of the Depression encouraged a large number of whites to move northward to the Sub-Arctic to become trappers. Accordingly, bush pilots were kept busy flying the trappers to their traplines.

After World War II, enhanced communications technology stimulated an increased sensitivity to northern concerns on the part of the Canadian administration. Canada, as a member of the newly-formed World Health Organization, was startled and disturbed to realize that its northern educational and health services were, for all practical purposes, "almost absent and that the native people were living in primitive conditions that appeared much less tolerable to Southern Canadians than they did to the native people themselves" (Rowley 1988:117). Accordingly, in the 1950s and 1960s, the government established nursing stations and schools, and the Department of Northern Affairs took over most of the work previously carried out by the R.C.M.P.

Although generally the policies were well intended and the medical assistance provided essential services to natives in dire need, the thinking of the administration was stuck in a habit of establishing policies on the simplistic principles of efficiency and cost. Accordingly, hunters and trappers were encouraged to live in housing developments built close to social and administrative services. Since the villages offered no significant source of income apart from service wages from white employers, the Inuit increasingly had to depend on the government for relief. Parents who persisted in their seasonal rounds were told that they should place their children in schools, and board them at new housing accommodations in the village or at regional centres farther afield.

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*Major airfields and meteorological stations to support these operations enroute were built at "The Pas, Churchill, Coral Harbour, on Southampton Island, Frobisher Bay, Fort Chimo and Goose Bay as well as Greenland" (Rowley et al. 1988:117).

The government's vigorous attack upon tuberculosis also weakened the close-knit bonds of the Inuit family since medical treatment entailed accepting long periods of separation in Southern hospitals. Mining developments also broke communal ties as Inuit families were induced to leave their communities for settlements that promised the benefits of wage employment.*

In the 1960s and 1970s, lavish federal spending signalled administrative policies that would eventually make it increasingly difficult for Inuit families to hunt and trap. Although early government endeavors had offered welfare provisions to encourage Inuit to assimilate into the mainstream of political-economic life, the inducement was now enlarged to include increased housing developments and programmes of service. Government policies (made more difficult after the move of the territorial government from Ottawa to Yellowknife in 1967) concentrated upon the package offer of modernization synonymous with settlement living. With great effort, cost, and indecent haste, villages of a hundred or more were rapidly transformed into semi-urban settlements with populations nearing one thousand. This concentration of the Inuit population increased dependency further.

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*In the West Hudson Bay region, Rankin Inlet was mined for high grade copper ore from 1957 to 1961. At Strathcona Sound in Northern Baffin Island, the Nanisivik mine opened a lead zinc operation in 1967 (Armstrong, Rogers, Rowley 1978).

Since these packaged settlements were based on southern models and offered no alternatives, Brody (1987: 217) points out that the Inuit elders' response to this agonizing period of modern living is summed up by the word ilira, a term meaning "feelings inspired by a powerful and potentially dangerous force of a person that one dare not resist." A paternalistic system centered in a distant southern father who was kind rather than understanding, meant that the involvement of the native people themselves in the provision as well as the receipt of welfare, simply never occurred.

By the early 1970s, Inuit leaders and other Northern spokesmen began to protest that the control of their lives had been taken from them.* Alarmed at the loss of language and culture that increasingly widened the gulf between parents and children, Inuit recognized that the very existence of their culture was in jeopardy. In recent years a number of organizations financed by federal funds have urged a revival and reaffirmation of traditional cultural activities.** Accordingly, drum dancing, like other forms of folk culture, now symbolizes a resistance to total assimilation, and one of the signs of a new era in North-South relations.

E. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is obvious that the effect of rapid cultural change upon the song/dance tradition has been severe. The traditional motivation for performance, such as establishing important kinship ties, settling judicial disputes, engaging in competitive rivalries between two camps, ensuring good omens, or performing shamanistic flights in the qaqqi have disappeared. Yet, despite these enormous social changes affecting the performance process, the drum dance as a musical-dance form has survived. Moreover, despite the high level of acculturation evidenced by the presence of Western, metal-rock, pop, jive, foxtrot, round, and square dance in some Inuit communities, a new will to preserve the old forms is evident.*

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*Pierre Trudeau's 1969 policy paper justified these fears since its aim was to abolish special status for Indian people, thereby effectively denying the whole idea of aboriginal rights (Brody 1987:233).

**In 1971 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (literally meaning 'the people's team' or often translated as the 'Eskimo Brotherhood') was formed. Its objectives include "strengthening Inuit culture and language, informing Inuit of their rights, formulating claims, and representing negotiations with the government" (Armstrong, Rogers, Rowley 1978:120).

Thus, although the Inuit have widely accepted modern practises, drum dancing still offers a means to the renewal and restoration of cultural traditions. Denying the popular perception that music and dance constitute a single universal language, Inuit readily speak of "our" traditional song and dance, and thereby identify themselves as a distinct people. Concerned that others respect their cultural heritage, they consistently relate that it would be inappropriate to drum dance to any other song but aijai.

As stated earlier, my intention here is not to record the musical dance form as an artifact, but rather to reveal how it lives as a means to connect the past and the present. Obviously, the preceding discussion has emphasized that if a nineteenth century Inuit should appear at a drum dance performance today his anxiety about remembering the song, enduring with the drum and dancing in the greater space of performance, would be increased because of the real and present dangers facing the drum dance event. He would probably wonder how, given all the cultural upheavals, the dance can continue to describe a commitment to the past, described by informants as "caring," and at the same time recognize a tradition of change. More practically, he would doubtless scrutinize contemporary performance to gauge how closely individual performers follow traditional roles. Accordingly, my investigation proceeds to an examination of how performance events are re-constituted today. Thus, a theoretical re-construction of the dance, Part III, is exchanged for the dynamic process of observing an actual drum dance described in Part IV.

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*Since the above musical dance forms of the South retain certain sound characteristics of the ancient culture, there is reason to believe as the ethnomusicologist Nettl (1983:277) states that "sound (and movement) itself changes least rapidly, (social) behavior changes more and the concept of music/ (dance) most quickly."

PART IV

THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS

PART IV THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS

INTRODUCTION

The approach in performance analysis has traditionally been to record the observer's outside point of view. Thus, the observer, informed by his or her own cultural background, witnesses a drum dance performance and describes the event in terms of his/her own experience (see Part I Chapter I - Experiential Descriptions). However, given the fact that performance is a dynamic communication process, an alternate position in performance analysis can be adopted. This is recognized by the ethnomusicologist M. Asch (1987:94) who reminds us that performance is dependent upon the "actions of people who assemble and proceed through the occasion together," and that a harmonious (Dene) drum dance "is not pre-ordained" (Asch 1987:89). Indeed, its success depends upon the co-operative efforts of all participants. As Donald Suluk of Eskimo Point succinctly explains, "there is no such thing as passing the time of day at the drum dance -- even if you are not dancing or singing, the people are caring." Accordingly, it is crucial in performance analysis to examine the intentions of the participants. The question to be asked in performance analysis is, what can a drum dance actually be?

Given the fact that the performance process constitutes a totally integrated cultural phenomenon, the difficulties are obvious. In Inuit drum dance the many and varied components are enmeshed in a particularly complex manner. Specifically, the performance event not only represents and incorporates every aspect of traditional life, but the idiom itself is constituted by the composite nature of both sound and movement. Accordingly, the network of inherent relationships intensifies. Moreover, since the performer and the audience in Inuit drum dance are so totally integrated, a conventional Western performance perspective which separates these two components is entirely inappropriate.

Although I have already clarified performance goals in terms of conventional norms associated with the idiom and the cultural context (see Parts II & III), an inventory of these structures cannot explain the performance process itself. In other words, although I have constructed a scaffolding that sketches the characteristics of Inuit drum dance within a limited range of variables, I have not yet examined the activity of drum dancing as a dynamic process. Obviously, since I cannot follow an individual's personal drum dance experience, my aim is to observe and intelligently interpret what actually happens in the performance process. Specifically, I consider the ways in which movement and cultural knowledge become realized as performance behavior. My first step is, therefore, to provide concrete evidence through descriptions of specific participants at specific drum dance events.

While any performance process is a collective activity, dependent upon a general coordination of intentions, the array of decisions that manifests performance, such as when the song begins, when the dance begins, what song is sung, when the dance ends -- is ultimately dependent upon the performer. Accordingly, in my aim to isolate the integral components of the performance process, I plan to follow the drum dancer through a particular dance event. Specifically, in the first chapter of this section I observe and interpret the drum dance event as a generalized picture of a social/ interaction process in which the drum dancer establishes his position in accordance with the opportunities and constraints of a given performance.

In the second chapter I offer a complementary treatment of the act of dancing itself. In brief, I describe how the drum dancer engages in a decision-making process for purposes of articulating the idiom. Accordingly, individual style differences are portrayed through descriptive profiles.

PART IV THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS

CHAPTER I OBSERVATIONS AND INTERPRETATION OF ACTUAL DRUM DANCE EVENT

INTRODUCTION

In general, since systems of dance derive their meaning from the specific interfacing of movement and context, and since the drum dance idiom is predictable in its consistency, we can theorize that drum dance performances vary qualitatively and unpredictably because of variations in particular performance context. Obviously, to test this hypothesis ethnographic evidence must be provided. Therefore, as stated earlier, this chapter will present ethnographic data concerning what takes place during contemporary Inuit drum dance.

The primary source materials for this chapter are video-taped recordings of two performances that I attended during field work in the Northern communities of Igloolik (1986) and Eskimo Point (1987). Supplementing this visual record are documented conversations with a variety of informants, such as performers, audience members and community leaders. Hence my approach is based upon observable ethnographic evidence and informal commentary. As a result, rather than attempting to interpret performance from a theoretical standpoint or relate Inuit drum dance as an esoteric experience, I will treat the performances as concrete examples of behavioral expression.

The ethnographic detail from these two actual performances serves to illustrate not only how the performance is informed by the idiom and its cultural context, but also how the concrete specifics of a singular setting immediately affects the song-dance event.

Since Inuit drum dance is constituted by a general communal concensus, it is important to note that performance norms are intimately related to the matrix of a particular society; the time, the place and the personnel all significantly influencing the particular song and dance-making process. This is especially true of drum dancing since the event is not only communally constituted, but can only proceed after the participants have gone through a number of specific social exchanges (see Part V). Thus, each drum dance is unique in accordance with its particular personnel and circumstances. In brief, the Igloolik and Eskimo Point examples serve to make clear how each drum dance is highly contextualized and how the process is sensitive to on-going situational changes that occur within the community.

Because widespread social and environmental changes are affecting all aspects of Inuit life, it is obvious that the flexibility characteristic of traditional drum dance norms is being stretched still further. Therefore, in order to explain how specific events deviate from traditional norms, it is necessary to consider how particular circumstances, such as filming and commissioned wages in Igloolik, and acculturation effects of an increased population juxtaposed with a decreasing number of singers and dancers in both Igloolik and Eskimo Point, shaped these two performances differently.

Before we examine the ethnographic information, it is important to define the criteria of a successful drum dance, since the participants do not often explicitly evaluate their own performances. Instead, the performer's purpose is based on the traditional concept that everyone in attendance take part in the event. Thus, the roles of the producer and receiver are virtually integrated. Indeed, only a slight time lag intervenes before the producer/performers exchange with the receiver/spectators. Accordingly, since the intention of the performer is to transform recipients into active participants, the success of the drum dance is proportional to the extent to which the participants engage themselves in singing and dancing.

The necessary conditions of a successful Inuit drum dance are appropriately described in the ethnomusicologist M. Asch's study of Slavey drum dance (1989). The ideal antecendent qualities are based on three criteria: (1) motivation is equivalent to commitment, (2) competence is based on practiced performance skills, and (3) a sense of collective desire is present, epitomized by the willingness of participants to set aside the conflicts of everyday life to create, albeit momentarily, a special world through song and dance. This final condition is the quintessential element in any successful Inuit or Slavey drum dance.

By implication, collective desire represents a state of receptivity associated with what theorists refer to as "attentiveness" or an "integrative (we) rationale."* What these two terms describe is a way of focusing in which the degree of the participants' absorption in the event encourages a certain loss of ego which gives way to disinterestedness and in turn, promotes a sense of unity and harmony. Accordingly, as collective feelings increase and the attention of the participants fuses with the central action, cohesive relations emerge. It is this sense of an emerging collective identity, synonymous with increased feelings of group solidarity, that ultimately signifies a successful drum dance.

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*The former referred to by the anthropologist J. Maquet (1986:25-33) and the latter by the sociologist E. Goffman (1961:18).

Complementing the theoretical understanding of the drum dance, ethnographic descriptions of the two performers' settings allow us to see the details of the performance process as they unfold from beginning to end. However, although the Inuit drum dance is characterized by the individual and the group becoming one and the same thing (their actions together constituting a drum dance event), it is the performer who guides the action and in the final analysis, operates as the key player. Thus, our study must focus upon what is relevant to the performer, especially on the options that constrain or aid him/her in the dance-making process. Specifically, we must examine the circumstantial factors (the what, when, where, and how) that influence particular performers, and how he/she imposes certain priorities upon these categories.

Prior to focusing upon the performance process, the stage will be set through the presentation of recent conditions influencing drum dance events. Examining first the motivational aspects of recent Igloolik events, an ethnography of settings and procedures follows. This entails a two-fold focus that investigates (1) the relatively fixed set of preparatory conditions, referred to as the "structural setting conditions," and (2) the "performance situation" that implies the "here and now" of the actual procedural process. Obviously, the two focuses of inquiry are inextricably linked since individual performers make the song-dance happen in accordance with their own immediate option of the structural setting. Thus, an understanding of what makes each drum dance event different and unpredictable requires a knowledge of a particular set of conditions and how these settings are re-constituted as individual performers proceed through the event and confirm, modify, or contradict conventional norms. After this systematic description of the Igloolik performance, the chapter concludes with a comparative description of the Eskimo Point performance.

A. THE IGLOOLIK EVENT

On this particular occasion, the introductory period of social interaction that customarily precedes these events was exceedingly long: the normal half hour activity extended to almost one hour. The decision to begin the event occurred when a solo singer stepped onto the stage and, sitting in a chair before the microphone, addressed the community and the visiting guests with a few brief introductory remarks. During these preliminary statements, the solo drum/dancer moved into the centre space, picked up the drum, and chose the spot where he wished to begin the dance. Almost simultaneously, the song/dance commenced; the sound of the singer's "aijai" accompanying the duple drum pulse.

Typically, when the successive drum dancers accompanied the presentation of different aijai songs, they employed an informal rhythmic dance characterized by flexed limbs, a hovering-forward torso lean position, and a front-body facing towards the proportionately large Inuit drum. The steps, emphasizing lateral weight transfers, remained relatively few, simple, and close to the ground. Not surprisingly, the dancer also imposed his own individual expression upon the dance genre. Combining both non-locomotor and locomotor patterns, the dancer sometimes danced "on the spot" and travelled in a curved and/or circular path. Depending on the circumstances, the duration would be long or short, the central path traced and retraced, the distance equal or unequal. Sometimes the drum head level was slightly lowered or raised with an accompanying torso gesture that increased or decreased the forward lean, but despite these variations, the duple pulse of drum was maintained. As anticipated, when the dancer moved into the dance the rhythmic pulse of the drum increased and decreased. Moreover, when certain dancers chose to emphasize a rhythmic unity between the drum and the weight shifts (emphasizing whole body actions), the more experienced dancers encouraged an intermittent dance of body parts; the syncopated rhythms accenting and contrasting the pulse of drum and song.

Although the standard duration of a dance is normally one song, and the length is variable, on this performance occasion, the songs were unusually short. In one instance, however, the length of the dance appeared to be extended by slowing the pulse of the song. In another, the duration and apparent enjoyment was increased when the singer juxtaposed a fast song with an initially slow song.

Although the preceding summary of the Igloolik drum dance indicates that the drumming and the song/dance procedure conformed to expected norms, the event remained puzzling in many ways. The song, traditionally the responsibility of women, was performed by men. The interim period of giving one's place to another was frequently marked by uncomfortable delays. When participants were expected to "take turns" there was often a sense of waiting and/or confusion. Several times the song and dance activity appeared to "stop out of nowhere";* yet, at other times, individual song/dance partnerships established an ongoing rhythmic unity. As a result, an intuitive sense of an uneven performance rhythm developed; the perceived series of stops and starts emphatically communicating the difficulty of manifesting this particular drum dance event. Furthermore, with the entrance of the camera crew into the event, the performance activity was not only interrupted but ultimately stopped, apparently cancelled by group concensus of too many errors. In brief, the Igloolik performance was curtailed after a mere ninety minutes; an obvious curtailment given the conventional three or more hours running time of these events. In order to explain these developments in the Igloolik event, the specific motivational context, performance setting, and procedural process must be carefully examined.

Motivational Considerations

In some Northern communities dancing occurs as part of the week long Christmas and Easter celebrations. However, unless it is specially announced, dancing at these times does not necessarily involve drum dancing. In

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*N. Piuqaatuq's comment on the song/dance event.

Igloolik, if drum dance events are announced during these holidays, it is interpreted to mean that drum dancing will precede the usual evening program of social round dance, and in recent times the activities of jive and rock and roll. On the other hand, because Igloolik has been rapidly acculturated the important calender holidays no longer provide sufficient motivation to guarantee the staging of drum dance events. Indeed, unlike traditional times where drum dance occurred as an impromptu affair, the event motivated in response to communal concerns, this particular event was commissioned. Specifically, during the Easter season, on the evening of March 31, 1986, John Houston, the film director of Owl Television* requested a drum dance for the purpose of a television production entitled "Christmas in Igloolik." For two days prior to the event, radio announcements informed the population of 967 that a drum dance would be held in the community hall.

Because traditional wisdom maintains that "drum dancing should be done only when people feel like doing it" (N. Piuqaatuq), a performance event had not occurred in Igloolik during the previous three years. In fact, the last staged drum dances had been organized to demonstrate something of the traditional Igloolik culture during the

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*A Southern-based film company.

Boreal Institute of Northern Studies Winter Workshop in 1982, and a musical workshop in 1983.

In Igloolik, as in other Northern communities, the relative infrequency of traditional song and dance events is the result of three main factors: (1) the dwindling number of elders who desire to reaffirm cultural indentity through traditional song and dance, (2) the increased difficulty faced by singers in accessing and practising aijai songs at a time when modern music forms predominate, and (3) changing social conditions that conduce to a virtual emptying of the town during Christmas and Easter holidays.

Particularly in Igloolik, the high mortality rate of the pisiq (dance song) has seriously threatened the music/dance genre. Nattiez (1979) notes that although the song has survived in the memory of several people who can reconstitute it for public gatherings, few individuals in Igloolik today are creating their own songs. He succinctly relates that "nothing prevents the pisiq from disappearing completely" (1979:17).

During my trip in 1986, the spirit for manifesting drum dance occasion had further dampened because of the impending murder trial of an Igloolik man. In brief, it seems clear in retrospect that had the drum dance not been commissioned, it would not have occurred.

Since wage earning opportunities are scarce in the community, the promise of a hundred dollar prize for the "best" drum dancer and singer undoubtedly helped spark community interest in prompting the drum dance event. However, in a society where traditional egalitarian ideals prevail, the imposition of a star system that rewards individual vertuosity is perceived by Inuit as creating imbalance. The difficulty of adjusting to major changes that neither complement or supplement the drum dance genre is strongly alluded to by informants who recalled the event as "not a real drum dance," as demonstrating only the basics" or "just for the party."

The effect on the community of this particular unsuccessful performance is suggested by the fact that the following year, when a Japanese scholar* studying Inuit music commissioned a performance, he paid a "fee for service" rather than a reward for the best display of virtuosity. Still, the drum dance was again apparently unsuccessful because this time a restricted guest list of performers introduced yet another aspect of professionalism and constituted another violation of Inuit egalitarian principles.

Although the restricted performer list explicitly signified that this drum dance was not constituted by and for the whole community, the emphasis upon specialized talent also signalled the implicit understanding that the Western values of competitive individualism were again being stressed over the traditional Inuit values of cooperative egalitarianism. Accordingly, with this veiled insult to Inuit ideals, the motivational intensity required to promote a successful drum dance diminished.

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*Professor Tanimoto of Hokkaido, Japan.

In a society where group participation was traditionally necessary for survival, it is not surprising that group participation rather than individual achievement operates as the primary determinant in manifesting a successful drum dance. Indeed, traditionally if people did not participate in the event, it was taken to mean that they felt themselves apart from the mainstream life of the community (either because of illness or bereavement or because they were engaged in "brewing mischief"). Thus the commissioned performance failed by failing to recognize how traditional drum dance events embody the fundamental Inuit values of cooperative behavior and the development of individual potential. In other words, it was through song and dance that social involvement was gauged and an individual's ability to cope with the vicissitudes of life were tested.

Having outlined the motivational considerations surrounding recent drum dance events in Igloolik (1986), and stressed the importance of communal participation, it is now possible to focus upon the particular options that both aided and constrained the performer in the specific dance-making process.

The Structural Setting: Performance Circumstances

Locale, Time, Participants

In the Igloolik performance (1986) the community hall was chosen as the locale, and 8 p.m. was chosen as the starting time. This reflected the traditional desire to accomodate all who wished to participate. Specifically, the locale indicated the performers' expectation of a large gathering, and the time was calculated to fulfill that expectation. Organizers were not disappointed: a stream of men, women, young adults, and children in their mother's amauntis arrived; the collected body of representatives reflecting how drum dance events typically attract a microcosm of the larger community. In addition, on this particular occasion, visiting friends, relatives and "outsiders" (such as a census taker from Montreal, myself, and three women who were a part of the film project but were not involved in the actual filming of the drum dance event) completed the assembly.

However, at this event, the actual starting time and the actual size of the gathering were matters of some suspense since a drum dance performance had not occurred recently, and the upcoming murder trial was certainly a deterrent to festive activity. The logistics of this particular performance occasion were further complicated by the fact that the people who had commissioned the event were late because of problems experienced while filming at the ice floe. After a long and unsettling delay, they finally arrived, equipment in tow. Soon it would become apparent that the uniqueness of the Igloolik event would be due to its overwhelming media presence rather than the drum dance event itself.

The Spatial Conditions

Despite these distressing circumstances the performers remained composed, and the event began in an orderly manner. The structural setting was characterized by the familiar spatial formation. Thus, upon entering the large auditorium, the participants either took seats on either side of the hall and across the back of the hall in front of the stage, or remained standing in the bottom half of the room close to the door (see Figure 9). As the evening progressed and numbers increased, the people took seats on the floor, contracting the perimeter of the general space. Finally, as the performance space gradually shrank to the size of the back half of the hall, the optimal conditions of intimate space (implying personal but uncrowded space) resulted (see Plates 22 and 23).

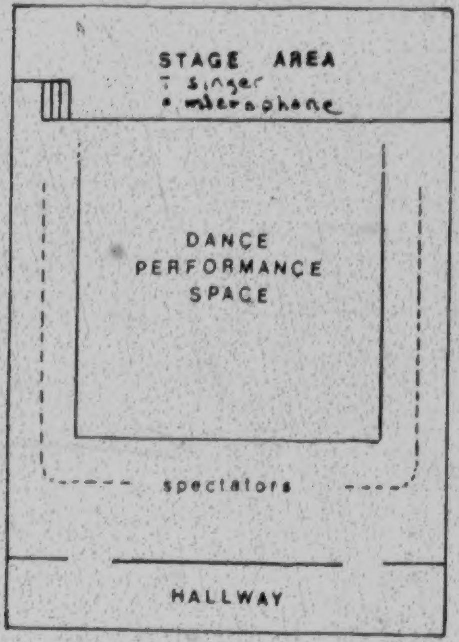
STAGE AREA
⫟ singer
• microphone
DANCE PERFORMANCE SPACE
spectators
HALLWAY

Figure 9. DIAGRAM 1. IGLOOLIK DANCE PERFORMANCE SPACE
Commissioned Performance 1986

Despite this fidelity to conventional seating arrangements and spatial configurations, the Igloolik performance was also marked by an unconventional mingling of the sexes. Normally, the men and women were traditionally separated in events like this. Here, however, the rule was suspended. Because the group of women were no longer seated together, this meant that the traditional group role of women in lead and chorus roles no longer applied. However, the placement of two chairs on the stage close to a microphone suggested that organizers had, in effect, prepared for an attenuated song/dance event (see Plate 24 a, b).

The Performance Team

Although it is frequently assumed by outsiders that anyone can participate in drum dance event, the Igloolik event demonstrated that performers must meet certain age and gender requirements. For example, in the Igloolik performance women never arose to dance. Accordingly, the contemporary event reinforced the traditional monopoly of the masculine male dancer.

It was also apparent at this event that age restrictions applied. Obviously, the explicit intention to reward the "best dancer" had forced an alteration in the criteria of skill and experience. Specifically, although thirteen men took their turns at dancing, only two of them were in their twenties, the rest were older, stronger, and more experienced.

Moreover, traditional norms continued to bend still further since the majority of the (male) dancers interpreted the taking of turns as taking a solo singing role as well as a solo dancing role. (Plate 24:b,c). Indeed, some performers took additional turns, the roles adopted more than twice. The result was poignant, suggesting as it did a scarcity in the community not only of women singers, but of male singers. Indeed, since the pisiq was dependent upon a few older men who could re-constitute the song from memory, the fate of drum dancing was communicated as existing at a survival level. The need for specialist singers in Igloolik today stands in stark contrast to Rasmussen's records of an abundance of non-specialist singers.*

Participant Relations

Traditional drum dance gatherings have been defined by theorists as being characterized by spectator relations, that is, the participants temporarily observe as they wait their turn to either dance or sing. In the Igloolik event, a transition to audience relations had obviously occurred since the participants no longer unanimously viewed their adopted roles as interchangeable, but rather perceived their roles of receiver and producer as separate and distinct. Indeed, the division between performers and audience was made unequivocally clear in that the latter part of the evening when the film crew alternately focused upon the producers and the receivers as two distinct entities.

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*The increased specialization of song in Igloolik is noted by Nattiez (1979:6). He relates that Igloolik singers, both male and female, are linked by family relations.

This aberration from tradition was also marked because of its contrast with activities that occurred before the event. In the first half hour or more participants mingled freely, stopping to chat with friends and relatives and independently deciding where they might wish to sit or stand in relation to one another. Gradually, again as if by the decree of a group mind, the performance commenced; but only after it was felt that most of the adults planning to arrive had arrived, and that a certain level of social cohesiveness, described by an informant as "making everybody feel welcome (and) comfortable," had been achieved. The performer's readiness to perform, therefore, was based on social protocol; the awareness that talent, skill and individual preparedness were of secondary importance when compared with the need to establish social rapport. Thus, vital to the performance process was the need to establish a primary bond with the social body; the performers, as it were, feeling the social body as the physical source and the communal extension of their own individual bodies.

However, increased numbers and the presence of the camera crew in the latter part of the Igloolik drum dance event tended to diminish these reciprocal relations. As a result, audience-performer relations tended to extract the familiar Western polarity of performer-entertainer and spectator-entertainment expectations. This was particularly evident during the group's attempt to accommodate film procedures and the resultant deterioration of the event into a media show featuring ad hoc drum dancing.

Attendance/Size

The number of people in attendance varied substantially during the performance event. There were approximately 65 persons present at the beginning, 165 prior to the arrival of the film crew, and 250 at the conclusion of the event. The dramatic increase in size resulted in an incorrect space-size ratio: the sense of space was no longer intimate but seemed crowded and less personal. On this particular occasion, the crowded conditions also severely reduced the performance space itself. Moreover, with the arrival of the camera crew, the performance space itself was actually destroyed for a time (see Plate 25:a).

The Youth Composition

In the Igloolik event the number of youths in attendance was relatively high, reflecting the demographic fact of a recent population explosion in the North. The anthropologist Damas (1963) relates that as early as 1963 one-third of the Igloolik population was constituted by grades k-7; a startling ratio, when compared to the traditional number of one child to every two adults.

Also noteworthy in the composition of the audience at the Igloolik event was the fact that the numbers of adolescent males increased during the latter part of the evening. Presumably, they had spent the day following the filming activity on the land and arrived in company with the film crew. Their late arrival, coupled with the imposed restrictions related to increased skill levels of performers, meant that their physical enthusiasm and their desire to participate (encouraged by traditional values) were repressed by the nature of the event. Not surprisingly, their adjustment to an attitude of quiet observation proved arduous. Therefore, because of the obvious correlation between attentiveness and the concentration required to manifest any drum dance occasion, the performer experienced the presence of several adolescents as a behavioral control problem.

The Performer's Dress and Solo Drum Instrument

At the Igloolik drum dance event characteristic attention was paid to appropriate dress and to the selection of a proper drum. In Inuit drum dance event the dress is customarily informal, so on this particular occasion store-bought jackets, vests, shirts, sweaters, pants and jeans in a variety of styles and colors marked the individuals' performance apparel. Similarly, heavy modern boots were worn. However, those who possessed the traditional Kamiks, i.e., flat-soled boots, danced in the lighter footwear.

Finally, as anticipated, a solo drum lay ready for use. But in the Igloolik event two rather than one Inuit drum rested in the core space. Although the large drums were similar in size and both were made from wood, the drumhead material was different. Specifically, the drum dancer had the option of dancing with a traditional drum made of caribou skin or a modern drum made of nylon (Plate 26).

The Performance Situation: Procedural Considerations

The Song/Dance Partnership

The event began when the first male dancer picked up the drum and, almost simultaneously, a single male singer climbed the stage stairs to sit on the singer's chair. However, as preface to this commencement the performers established a song/dance partnership. In former days the performance team consisted of a husband-wife unit or was based on a formal relationship derived from kinship ties. At the Igloolik performance, however, the performance pairing was frequently based on the basis of individual preference. As explained by an Igloolik informant (N. Piuqaatuq), the situation is "not like former days when you knew the singer, the song, and you enjoyed the beat .... The important thing today is to establish a good feeling between the singer and the dancer."

Sometimes, since familiarity with other people's performing styles has generally evolved within small family gatherings, a tacit relationship between an immediate or extended family member was evident. These performance teams appeared to manifest a naturally acquired ease in their collaborations (Plate 27:a,b). On the other hand, when family partners were not available, then either the singer or the dancer surveyed the audience to select an equal partner (Plate 28:a,b). These on-the- spot asessments occurred regularly and appeared to be of considerable concern since an individual's song/dance reputation is in part dependent upon establishing a good partner.

Less obvious, but more frequent, were the non-verbal cueings that established partnerships before participants centered the performance space. Occasionally, these partnerships also happened without any prior verbal or non-verbal consent; the singer or dancer simply moved into his respective performance space. Here the action communicated a confident request that invites "but does not command"[*] a relationship with any partner who can quickly and accurately assess a sense of matched play.[**]

The Drum Instrument: Traditional vs. Modern

Because the performer's decision to employ the modern or the traditional drum was generally not made beforehand, the interim period (of giving one's place to another) was often delayed. In taking to the floor the drum dancers frequently picked up one drum and then the other, alternately tapping the wooden frames to test for the correct tonal properties.

Although informants consistently stated that both traditional and modern drums "can make the same sound,"[***]

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[*] Noah Piuqaatuq, Igloolik, 1986.

[**] Similar to other aspects of traditional Inuit life, an emphasis upon establishing spontaneous partnerships re-enacts traditional values where the individual confidently assesses changing situations, accepts the responsibility to act, and does so without interference and with a high priority placed upon intuitive observation and feeling.

[***] If the modern drumhead material is "kept very tight."

on this occasion the modern drum was the instrument of choice. The preference did not appear surprising since the modern drum can be used without the tuning procedures of wetting and tightening the traditional skin drumhead. Moreover, the traditional drum had a visibly warped frame, giving testimony to the difficulty of maintaining these instruments in heated homes (Plate 29).

However, since not all the performers used the modern drum a good sound was evidently not the only consideration. A plausible explanation for the choice of the traditional drum relates to subtle notions of ownership. Because the caribou drum belonged to an older respected Igloolik man, its implicit value was associated with Inuit concepts of the shared and public nature of personal property. On the other hand, the decision by a few dancers not to employ the modern drum may have reflected the performer's awareness that since the nylon drum was stored at the community centre, its value was associated with a tool of scientific enquiry rather than its traditional social and spiritual value.

The Introductory Statement

Typically, the co-performers often chose to step gradually into a performance mode by prefacing the taking of turns with a few preliminary statements. So, rather than opening with a lengthy official speech, the Igloolik performance began with the first singer encouraging an appreciation of song. Concisely explaining the ownership of the song, he stated that "first he would sing someone else's song and then his own."* In a similar manner, the second singer prefaced his song by explaining how it "recalled traditional life - how life was in the hunt ... something that we remember very well." This additional explanatory remark that he himself "had made the song" also encouraged song appreciation since it is constantly related by informants that it takes "a lot of courage to make a song" and that "everyone is happy if you have a new song." As the procedural format of taking turns continued, the dramatic technique of characteristically lowering expectations through understatement was employed. Accordingly, the singer explained that he had "never sung in public."

However, not all song/dance partnerships prefaced their performance with comments, and those that did spoke of other things beside the singer and his song. Sometimes the dancer, desiring to display his skill, but at the same time conscious that in an egalitarian society it was incorrect to adopt a bragging attitude, conventionally confessed the humble opinion that he was "not very good" or "just learning." A middle-aged dancer related that "this is the first time I have danced in public." In the same vein, a well-known Igloolik drum dancer, Emile Immaroittuq, consciously played down his reputation by modestly stating "I used to dance without glasses ... don't watch me too closely because I am not that good."* (Plate 30:a,b).

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*The introductory remarks of performers have been translated by the Igloolik informant Zak Kunuk.

The "Taking of Turns"

As anticipated, the procedural format of "taking turns" followed no programmatic order. Moreover, given the fact that the taking of turns entails being pitted against one's peers, and that the drum dance event is constituted by the sum total of successive performances, it was not surprising that the majority of the Igloolik performers assessed their entry with the conventional understanding that the strategic input of each and every performer was vital to the process.

However, the arrival of the camera crew initiated a completely unanticipated series of incidents. At least two performers appeared to delay their entry with the aim of taking a turn before the camera. These performances featured excessively flamboyant styles that seemed more like parodies than dance. For example, the movement itself appeared mocking since one dancer increased the knee contraction into a knee-high stomping action. Another dancer altered the characteristic moderate-wide body stance to an excessive width encouraging a bouncing side-to-side action which obviously could not be sustained for long. Although it was difficult to ascertain, it appeared that yet another dancer increased the opening and closing arm action. As a result, the dancer rotated the drumhead with an exaggerated arm swing and increased sway of the torso.

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*Translated by Zak Kunuk.

The effect of these flamboyant displays was a relatively long, uncomfortable interim period after each of these performers had taken their turn. Apparently, because these few dancers had drawn excessive attention onto themselves, they had not exerted as full a control over the situation as possible. Accordingly, their strategic input was devalued. Also, the traditional Inuit value of fair play was eroded. Thus, the performers who followed them were reluctant to look good against a weak or foolish opponent. In other words, when it became clear that the dancing was no longer associated with traditional notions of serious endeavor nor with the traditional pleasures of striving for competence and testing cooperative relations through a matched song/dance partnership, performers no longer wished to enter the ring. In brief, it became apparent that in order for the drum dance to proceed, the traditional spirit of fair play had to be adhered to.

Paradoxically, although the filming procedures prompted these few displays of flamboyance, the camera's general effect was to decrease the significance of individual style differences. The distractions caused by a film and sound man attempting to capture close-up shots, forced most of the drum dancers to focus on safe-guarding the territorial boundaries of their own personal space, leaving them little reserve energy to devote to the decisions of the dance-making process. Thus, to the extent that close-up shots were employed, the emphasis upon style variations was reduced (Plate 32:a-e).

Song and Dance Making

As if this wasn't enough, another problem arose on this occasion, relating to the difficulty of accessing ajai songs. This was vividly evidenced when the three women who attempted to partner a dancer in song all forgot their lines. In one case, when the woman singer remembered only the first few lines of song, public disapproval was typically signalled with the audience's response of laughter. In consequence, the performer's embarrassment served as a warning that although conventional norms might be slightly slackened to accommodate survival conditions, (associated with acculturation) the performance event was still being closely monitored and evaluated. This was again evidenced when a male singer also forgot his song. However, because he did manage to sing for approximately a minute and a half, the response by the participants appeared to be more of disappointment rather than of explicit disapproval.

Although several other song/dance partnerships also abruptly ended after about 90 seconds, a three to five minute duration marked the average co-performance length. And one dance/song partnership of seven minutes manifested the important conventional criteria of strength, endurance, and the proper familiarity with song. Not surprisingly, this partnership was judged as the winning team.*

Returning to the difficulty of manifesting the drum dance event without constant exposure to song, Igloolik informants often voiced the opinion, more in a tone of lament than of criticism, that "today the women no longer know the songs," or "the women don't sing these songs at home anymore." Again, these statements are in sharp contrast to Rasmussen's observation of 150 years ago. He noted that "one rarely sees men and women at their work without humming a song" (1931:320).

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*This duration represents a marked contrast to Cavanagh's observation of a Netsilik performance since she reports that "a single drum dancer frequently plays the drum for twenty minutes without interruption" (1982:70).

In addition to the difficulty of accessing song, a concern for retaining an Inuit quality of vocal sound was also alluded to by an Igloolik informant.* When asked if a woman singer had a good voice, he replied unenthusiastically: "She sings church." This response suggests not only the undermining of traditional music by the church, but also the uniqueness and fragility of Inuit musical (song/ dance) idioms. In Inuit music the melodic contour is associated with the microtonal pitch of the pentatonic scale.** Also, the vocal continuity is derived from brief breath pauses rather than from the Western tendency to divide with full stops.***

In dance making the dancers, as anticipated, exhibited both an inward and outward focus. However, on this particular occasion the outward focus was most frequent at the beginning of the event. This suggests the attempt to prevent a dissipation of energies over the large auditorium space by using the projection technique of eye contact. Accordingly, the performer's motivational intent was oriented towards an external criteria; the dancer's personal identity linked to the collective body of gathered representatives. Hence, at the beginning of the event, the rationale of several performers appeared to emphasize the appeal of popular entertainment, that is, the promotion of a common morality or what an informant referred to as "pure fun" (discussed earlier, Part III Chapter II, Complex Rationale). Specifically, the outward focus appeared to promote a more assertive drum dance style characterized by joking mannerisms.

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*Zak Kunuk, 1986.

**For example, the slight alteration of C A G E D in a scale pattern.

***Cavanagh (1973:14) points out that Orpingalik's declaration "I sing as I draw breath" has a literal meaning as well as a symbolic one.

Conversely, as the performance space contracted and the sound of song and drum was projected equally upon everyone, the focus of the dancer was frequently orientated inwardly upon the drum. Because an inner focus is generally linked to the performer's premise that the medium is primary, that is, the performer acts as agent or is there by implication, and since this premise complements the communal premise of manifesting performance with collective efforts for collective rewards, a special emotional intensity is the vital result.* The importance of drum dances animated by the primacy of the medium (frequently referred to by informants as "serious drum dancing") is alluded to by an older Igloolik informant (N. Piuqaatuq). When pressed to explain how an experienced drum dancer could improve his his performance, he stated: "in today's performance there is a large audience watching you, and as soon as you are conscious of them you will be watching yourself ... wondering if you are dancing properly or not ... If you shut them out you will enjoy the dance. It will be better for you and better for your audience ... This applies to every generation."[*]

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*For a further understanding of how the performer's premise affects the medium of performance, see Qureshi's (1986:107-108) analysis of the Qawwali occasion. Also, a continuum of emotional arousal is provided with a classification of intensity described as neutral, enthusiastic/mild, intense/deeply moved, and transported/trance (1986:119).

During the Igloolik event this advice could obviously not be heeded, since the filming procedures frequently invaded the dancer's personal space. Thus, although an emphasis upon an inner focus encouraged the achievement of an emotional intensity near the middle of the event, the entrance of the camera crew reversed this tendency. As a result of factors external to the event, the performer was forced to struggle for control. Accordingly, arousal to a state of special intensity was, at best, an incipient element.

However, despite the adverse effects of the camera, it should also be noted that in the Igloolik event good performers did not go unnoticed. Appreciative comments included the truisms from informants that "a good dancer must know the song," and "possess a good partner" in order to achieve "a good sound that lasts a long time together." But some of the responses also alluded to the manner in which a dancer can achieve a level of competence which enables him to exhibit a personal and expressive style. Specifically, these comments stressed the importance of strong effort dynamics associated with variations in pace, intensity, and evocative breath shouts. Thus, informants defined the good dancer as one who "bends his knees a lot," "shouts," "does not get tired," "enjoys keeping his own inner beat .. the movement going through the whole body so that the body seems to sway right down to the feet" (N. Piuqaatuq), or, more succinctly, as one who "gets the feeling for himself" (Emile Immaroittuq).

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[*] Noah Piuqaatuq provided this comment on his grandson's dancing while watching a video-taped interview. His perception is not unlike the phenomenologist Fraleigh (1987:22) who states "good dancers know that the dancing self dies when it looks back either to visualize or to admire itself. The present tense is lost. Spontaneity is lost, and with it the dance."

Thus, despite the fact that the Igloolik drum dance was considered unsuccessful as an accumulated process, this did not mean that some individual acts of expression were not to a degree, judged successful (Plate 33). The truth of this observation was confirmed by the acculturated response of clapping and whistling after each song/dance team gave their place to another. Furthermore, it was noted that the length and intensity of this appreciative response remained the same for all participants. Thus despite strong acculturative influences, traditional egalitarian rules were still being demonstrated.

The criteria of a good dancer was also related as being "in control of the audience ... the audience will be (relatively) quiet when you are dancing" (N. Piuqaatuq). Although a drum dance event is normally characterized by a certain amount of permissive behavior - the participants coming and going, sipping drinks, and occasionally wandering through the performance space - in the Igloolik event the range of behavior appeared to extend far beyond the normal latitude. The camera crew was, of course, disruptive, but so also were the young children who crossed the performance space several times (Plate 34:a,b). Not surprisingly, these two factors were interrelated; the filming procedures promoting the episode of children being caught on camera as they crossed the space.

The generally decreased state of attentiveness amongst participants suggests a diminished level of social identification. According to Lortat-Jacob (1984) reduced involvement in song making reflects in part the difficult transition between small-scale and complex societies. The latter increased stratification and segmentation encourages a loss of ownership. Perhaps, therefore, an analogy also exists between the performance event and religion, since an informant explained to the anthropologist H. Brody (1975:134) that church religion today is not as good as it used to be because "far too many people are going to the same place at the same time."

Obviously, the presence of the film crew at the Igloolik drum dance event decreased the qualities of commitment and attentiveness required to manifest the drum dance event. At one point, when the film crew chose to focus on audience members for a particularly long period of time, many young people apparently interpreted this to mean that since the film crew was no longer interested in the performers per se, the performance event had itself come to a halt. This inadvertently caused an unscheduled intermission period, interrupting the event as people flooded into the performance space itself.

However, this problem was quickly solved when an older, respected man moved into the singer's chair and began singing aijai, his voice apparently imploring the restless audience to restore normal order. Although the successful plea re-initiated the Igloolik performance event, the taking of turns continued only briefly thereafter and then ended abruptly; the event apparently a victim of a string of mishaps and accumulated confusion.

In brief summary, the Igloolik event was simultaneously dominated by the difficulties of accessing song, and the problems associated with the media presence. Frequent delays in the interim periods indicated the general awareness that despite the high level of performer competence a transgression of traditional norms had occurred. In general, acculturative influences stressing specialization and professionalism imposed on the event a rationale of achievement, rather than of participation for all ages; of competing against one's peers at a vertical rather than horizontal level. With the encroachment of the media into the event, the desired state of receptivity diminished, and eventually, the qualities of commitment and willing attentiveness eroded to the point where the performer continually struggled for control, not only against the film crew but also against the audience itself.

Thus, what began as a cultural event, whose traditional purpose promoted communal unity, began to have its opposite effect. It is testimony to the solidarity of this community that, when the performance could no longer be manifested as "successful" it concluded as though by lightning - quick, secret ballot. In retrospect, this intrinsic consensus took effect precisely at the point where the event could have damaged community pride. Accordingly, the commissioned event showed me something perhaps more important than any single drum dance event could have demonstrated; namely, the abiding presence, even in difficult situations of an effectual communal will.

B. THE ESKIMO POINT DRUM DANCE

Introduction

The reader has already encountered my personal description of the Eskimo Point performance (see Part I, Description 2: An Experiential Account). The point of reconsidering this same event is to show how much more can be understood when the emic import of a particular situation is taken into account and the power of song and dancer are ultimately linked to the details and dynamics of the performance process itself. Thus, although the Eskimo Point performance can serve as a standard way of doing the drum dance (indeed, my observations are actually not much different than observations made in Rasmussen's day), it can also, paradoxically, demonstrate that there is no such thing as a standard drum dance. Again, in order to understand how the idiom is always being articulated differently, the specific contextual factors must be examined. However, before doing so, it is important to outline the broader socio-historical context in which the drum dance is situated.

At Eskimo Point, as elsewhere, the effects of acculturation have impacted upon traditional practices of Inuit. Generally, the acculturation process has occurred more slowly along the western coast of the Hudson Bay than in the Far North. Originally Eskimo Point was a seasonal camp attracting mainly the coastal Padlimuit Inuit, but within the last sixty years (beginning in 1926 with both the establishment of the Hudson Bay Post and the Anglican Church) other sub-groups of Caribou were encouraged to settle. At present the Eskimo Point settlement has an approximate population of 1,100.*

The early impact of Anglican missionary activity on the drum dancing at Eskimo Point was rather less severe than in other areas.** Similarly, when the Roman Catholic Church was established at Eskimo Point in 1930, it pursued a policy of assimilation rather than attempting to completely obliterate traditional musical customs.

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*The physical location is approximately 165 miles north of Churchill and 150 miles south of Rankin Inlet, the Regional Centre of the Keewatin District. In 1977 Eskimo Point assumed the legal status of hamlet; the jurisdictional power constituted by elected representatives who propose and administer their own by-laws and budget.

**In contrast to his counterparts at the Anglican strongholds of Igloolik and Baker Lake, it appears that the ordained Anglican minister at Eskimo Point, Donald Marsh, did not perceive the song and dance as the work of the Devil. This is evidenced by his sympathetic accounts of drum dancing. (In 1950 he became the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic.)

In recent years the establishment of the Inuit Cultural Institute has also encouraged the practice of drum dancing as a part of its general mandate to strengthen all traditional Inuit cultural forms. Mary Thompson, an Eskimo Point informant, states that the Institute has prompted "the Inuit people to sing and dance ... to be proud of their past." There is also a commercial interest in promoting an attenuated song-dance form, since, in recent times, drum dances are frequently "put on for (the sake of) Southern tourists" (Mary Thompson).

Motivational Considerations

Normally, however, drum dancing occurs when the community (1) commemorates the important holidays of Christmas and Easter, (2) acknowledges important visitors, or (3) feels the need to engage in the recreational activity of traditional song and dance. Typically, the third occasion occurs when older community members encourage participants of all ages to get together to practice Inuit song and dance. A respected older man from Eskimo Point (E. Anoee) explains that drum dance events enable the people to get together to enjoy traditional music and celebrate an oral history, described in his words as "singing what we know."

On this particular occasion recreation appeared to be the main motivational factor. The recent death of a well-respected leader and drum dancer, Donald Suluk, had discouraged the staging of a communal Easter drum dance event a week and a half earlier. At the same time, an informant who knew I wanted to observe a performance, and who felt that the community members might wish to express Inuit song/dance traditions, decided to convene an evening of drum dancing in her home. Thus, although her initial motivation was partly based on Inuit hospitality, my brief stay within the community as well as my inability to offer any fee for services suggests that the primary motivation was the activity itself; the drum dancing providing an opportunity for participants to feel good about themselves and improve their relationships with others.

On this particular occasion, the performance event was moderately successful. This judgement is based on four specific observations: (1) the interim period between dances was relatively brief, (2) the performance lasted a normal three hours, (3) the pleasure expressed by and between co-performers was visible and frequent; the dancers and singers appeared evenly matched in strength, skill and a sense of collaborative play, and (4) the gradual waning of energies was accompanied by an unanimous harmonious group consensus to end the event. A radio broadcast the following morning confirmed my assessment; the explicit announcement stating that participants had experienced "a good time at last night's drum dance."

The Comparative Setting/Circumstances

Preparations for a drum dance event may begin one or two weeks beforehand. However, on this particular occasion and similar to the Igloolik example, very short notice was given. Community announcements made by CB and radio invited all who wished to attend to convene at an informant's home the following evening at 9 p.m. The relatively late starting time, announced as "after bingo" suggests that the modern lifestyle of the Inuit makes it increasingly difficult for the activity of drum dancing to compete with other leisure time activities.

While the locale of a two-storey home provided an appropriate open ground-floor space for dancing, the physical dimensions of the home obviously restricted the number of actual participants. As anticipated, the open L-shaped floor plan easily converted into a conventional "theatre in the round" with participants lining a perimeter defined by the walls.

Unlike the Igloolik situation, however, an area of the circumference was given over to a group of women singers, several of which were dressed in traditional clothes. Specifically, over half a dozen women singers formed a seated chorus group in the far left corner of the room, opposite the incoming door. This group was balanced by a group of men clustered along the same end wall, but in the far right open-kitchen space. Accordingly, the seating arrangement, based on a traditional division of space by gender, signified that the performance event was not marked by a scarcity of women singers (see Diagram 2 below and Plate 35:c).

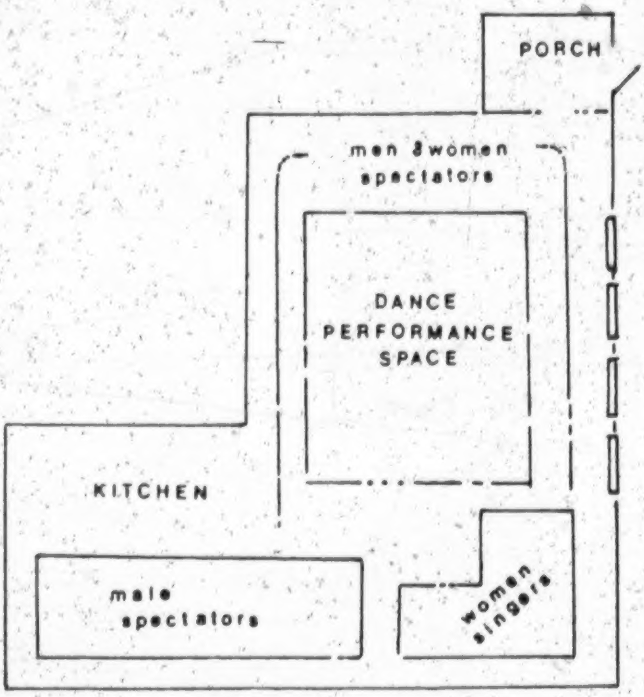
PORCH
men & women spectators
DANCE PERFORMANCE SPACE
KITCHEN
male spectators
women singers

Figure 10. DIAGRAM 2. ESKIMO POINT DANCE PERFORMANCE SPACE 1987

A concern for manifesting the correct drum sound was also conspicuous as a squatting male figure attended to the wetting procedures of a traditional skinhead drum (Plate 36:a-d). Gradually, as the other participants gathered, the remaining spaces on the circumference were filled.

Similar to the Igloolik event, participants encouraged a certain level of social cohesiveness as they waited for sufficient numbers to arrive. Unlike the Igloolik situation, however, where a large influx of late arrivals prevented many participants from experiencing this introductory period of friendly interaction, most Eskimo Point participants were provided with an opportunity to re-confirm their primary relationship to the group before the event began. Thus the Eskimo Point performance was framed with a strong sense of interdependency between producers and receivers. In brief, since Eskimo Point participants adopted the attitude that all present were protagonists, traditional spectator relations underlined the event.

At the Eskimo Point performance event, approximately two dozen persons were present at the beginning of the event. During the evening proceedings the numbers grew to a maximum of slightly over forty. This meant that the participants at the Eskimo Point event adjusted to a two-fold increase in size; an enlargement obviously less difficult to manage than the four-fold increase encountered in the Igloolik event. Although the event was characterized by an ebb and flow in the number of participants, the average number was forty persons, and thus, compared to the Igloolik event, this performance was relatively small and intimate. Accordingly, the traditional ideal of general participation was evidenced, since approximately half the gathering eventually became active-recipients by adopting a dancing role.

Although the spatial conditions became intermittently crowded, a polite concern for the correct size-ratio was also apparent. This was indicated by late arrivals frequently choosing to wait in the porch or view the song/dance performance through the windows rather than risk crowding the periphery of the performance space.

At least three-quarters of the gathering was composed of adult members. Despite the fact, therefore, that Eskimo Point informants also consistently spoke of "too many children" or explained that young people are brought to performances because the parents "worry that the (wooden) houses might burn down,"* on this particular occasion the percentage of children and young adolescents remained relatively low. Also noteworthy was the gender balance: the population was comprised of almost an equal number of men and women. But the absence of male adolescents in their late teens suggested the current shortage of young male drum dancers.

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*Annie Sewoee.

Finally with reference to performer conditions, although three drums existed in the community, only one was brought to the performance. The drum incorporated both modern and traditional technology: testimony to the Inuit traits of ingenuity and practicality. Specifically, the drum incorporated a circular hoop made from a hard strip of white plastic bought from the Hudson Bay store and carefully heated into its characteristic shape. The traditional features were the thin skin of caribou stretched over the frame and a small hole cut just above the handle to ensure "better sound." The performer was thereby assured of the correct musical tool for manifesting the drum dance event.

The Comparative Procedural/Circumstances

In accordance with these circumstantial aspects, several striking differences occurred in procedures. A change in the traditional women's role was among the most obvious. Specifically, although the Eskimo Point performance began with the male host dancing and his wife and other women of the community singing aijai it was not long before several of the women singers began to take a turn at dancing. It also happened that several women who did not sing also adopted the traditional male dancing role. Thus, at the Eskimo Point performance, adjusting the rules to fit the circumstances meant that several women took a turn both at singing and dancing, rather than the reversal Igloolik situation where several men took turns both at dancing and singing. The fact that women adopted dual roles suggested a scarcity of dancers rather than of singers. Apparently, however, this is neither alarming nor unusual since an informant (Alice Suluk) succinctly relates that "today the world is changing ... and the women are starting to dance ... more women are doing the men's jobs." (Plate 37:c-e).

Still, traditional gender expectations did apply to young adolescents. This was apparent when a young male adolescent adopted a dancing role and several young female adolescents did not, adopting instead their conventional role of babysitters, by either amusing younger siblings in their mother's amautik, or preventing young toddlers from running into the performance space. Also, by sitting close to the singers an apparent attentiveness to the women's singing role was evident.

Also noteworthy during the Eskimo Point performance was the fact that only twice during the performance event was the interim period between dancers arrested. This occurred not as a result of confusion or disorder, but with the explicit educational intent of encouraging interested children to become aquainted with the drum. Accordingly, the drum dance event operated as an educational forum. This also explains why the young male adolescent was allowed to prolong his turn at dancing and was even actively assisted by an older companion (Plate 38:a,b).

With reference to the song partnerships, although women fulfilled their traditional role as a chorus, women singers did not adopt the conventional lead roles. As a result, a set of chorus voices characterized the Eskimo Point performance. Unlike the Igloolik situation, therefore, since the singing voices provided a consistent background, the co-performance teams did not worry about establishing song dance partnerships on-the-spot.

Moreover, since the singers did not encounter any problem in recalling their songs, the dancer was not concerned that his/her dance would be cut short. Indeed, the singers facility with aijai songs indicated a practiced song repertoire. This familiarity apparently meant that the singers saw no need to conventionally introduce the pisiq by explaining its content or ownership. Although a few drum dancers began their dance with brief statements, I could not ascertain whether these statements referred to the dance song or were simply expressions of the dancer's modesty. However, noticeably different in the Eskimo Point dance song was the relatively long aijai chorus and the short text. Obviously, the recall of aijai syllables rather than the more difficult long narrative texts served as an advantage to performance teams in this area.

Normally, since no song is sung in the interim period these interludes occurred without the sound of women's voices. But on this particular occasion, it was not unusual for the aijai chorus to continue to be singing "between turns." Did this mean that the singers accompanied a new dancer with the same song? Did this represent a break with the tradition of the dancer dancing to his own personal or family-owned song? Was the dancer simply "happy to have a dance song to dance to?" On the other hand, perhaps a different song was being sung for each dancer. Perhaps the continued aijai singing represented a contemporary transitional technique to move the process forward without a break in the performance action.

Still, even given these apparent modern variations, it was evident that the tune of the dance song in the Eskimo Point performance remained traditional. Thus, in contrast to the Igloolik event where acculturated tunes such as a Scottish aire and the English tune of "My Grandfather's Clock" accompanied the dancer, the Eskimo Point performance was characterized by drum dancers dancing to traditional tunes.

Another distinction between the two events was related to the procedural format of "taking turns." Again in contrast to the Igloolik event where successive dancers "picked up the drum" from its resting position on the floor, the Eskimo Point performance was characterized by the drum being "passed directly." Moreover, I observed that the direct passing was not initiated by the drum dancer but rather by any member in the gathering who wished to step forward before the drum dancer had actually completed his or her turn (Plate 34). The performer, therefore, recognized that the duration of his/her dance depended not only upon the singers but also upon any participant who independently decided that he/she no longer wished to wait their turn to dance.

Since the practice of handing over the drum did not occur during the Igloolik situation, one can suggest that in the Eskimo Point situation the increased level of social exchange tested the imperative of cooperative relations still further, and that the symbolic gestures was a regional characteristic that reflects the increased economic difficulties traditionally associated with this area.

Also, it is possible that although the shared communal goals of commitment, competence and willingness at the Eskimo Point performance encouraged the event to orientate towards the successful end of the continuum, it is also true that the presence of women dancers in the Eskimo Point event tended to maintain rather than increase the arousal level. The reason the arousal level appeared less compelling was due to obvious physiology factors; specifically, the women dancers' reduced level of strength and endurance, as well as the women's expressive personality differences related to a reluctance to express themselves with powerful shouts. Thus, although the scarcity of men dancers was alleviated by women adopting the drum dancer's role, the dancer's power to reinforce traditional values of strength, endurance, and the admired Inuit trait of open, spontaneous, joyful expression (most noticeably exemplified in the breath shout) appeared to be more effectively communicated when male drum dancers took the floor.

Despite this qualitative difference in style due to gender, a few women exhibited a high level of competency with the drum. In particular, the woman host demonstrated a movement style similar to the men's. Her style emphasized three main movement characteristics: (1) the intermittent jogging around in circles which appears to be an individual style preference characteristic of this region, (2) the manipulating of the drum through both the horizontal and vertical plane (rather than maintaining the women's normal vertical plane position), and (3) the use of evocative breath-shouts.

Modestly alluding to her achievements in strength and endurance she acknowledges that even though she gets "more and more tired in drum dancing ... the wrist feeling pins and needles, (at the same time she can) move anyway she likes"* within the limits of the genre.

Finally, it must be noted that in the Eskimo Point situation, the valued Inuit principle of participation was extended to include myself. This occurred near the end of the evening when several women singers signalled that it was appropriate for me to pick up the drum and dance. This was indicated by gestures of heads and faces that cued me to enter the centre space and experience dancing and drumming to their supportive voices.

While the community felt my being encouraged to dance was correct and proper in these circumstances, it would have been obviously incorrect to do so during the media-dominated Igloolik situation. Indeed, the opportunity never arose because control over manifesting event no longer rested with the community, and the apparent emphasis upon a high performance skill restricted participation even among their own community novices.

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*Annie Sewoee.

In both events, the difficulty of accessing song and the scarcity of singers and dancers reflect the major acculturative changes that have occurred in both communities. However, the necessary adaption of bending the rules to fit the changing circumstances has developed differently in each. Since in the Igloolik situation only a few older men could re-constitute the songs from memory, the women's critical singing role was diminished. The use of successive solo male voices rather than a chorus group meant that the co-operative relationship between the drum dancer and the singers was attenuated. Specifically, the power of drum dance to reflect the primary values of a co-operative, egalitarian society seemed less efficient when individuals conveyed a sense of stressing achievement rather than the conventional role of linking independent notions of reciprocal relations.

In the Eskimo Point situation, the maintenance of a traditional women's chorus group indicated that the problem of accessing song was less severe and the process of acculturation less rapid. Traditional norms were modified rather than transgressed. Specifically, the Eskimo Point event exemplified how the conventional norm of a women's chorus group was facilitated by encouraging a familiar repertoire of aijai song. Thus, although the meaning derived from personal songs was apparently diminished since the dancers were no longer dependent on dancing to a personally owned song, at the same time, because both the singers and the dancers were conversant with the songs this implied that meaning was still being derived from a facile ability to integrate vocal rhythms with familiar drum dance rhythms. Accordingly, communal enjoyment was still derived from the performance team's ability to create a rhythmic unity together.

While a scarcity of dancers was evidenced at both events, the commissioned Igloolik performance endorsed this state of affairs by imposing standards of skill and experience. This effectively discouraged young male dancers from taking part and actually exacerbated the problem. On the other hand, in the Eskimo Point situation, because song and dance making was still produced, re-produced and managed by the community, creative solutions to eradicate the problem of a shortage of male dancers were evident. Not surprisingly, adaptation occurred by extending the dancing role to women. Also, in order to adjust to contemporary reality, it was appropriate that the drum dance event served not only as an educational forum for the adolescents, but also as extended to include the very young.

C. THE CONCLUSION

In conclusion, my examination of these two performers has demonstrated the highly contextualized nature of drum dance event. In other words, despite a fidelity to established norms there is no such thing as a standard Inuit drum dance. For example, in the commissioned Igloolik event an array of unusual factors -- the presence of the media, increased numbers of young people, decreased numbers of women recalling the songs, and a prize for the best dancer -- significantly influenced the nature of the event. The Eskimo Point performance was also context-sensitive, the event influenced by the home setting, women and men dancers, women singers, a lack of young male dancers, a mixture of modern and traditional dress, and the important criterion of a good drum.

Complementary to the impact of these contextual circumstances is the understanding of the solo dancer as a representative figure: the vantage point of the dancer reflecting the totality of all participants. Thus the role of the performer is that of a participant who temporarily takes on a special role. Accordingly, it is through this interchange of roles that the drum dancer symbolically demonstrates how in Inuit society the potential of every individual is stressed. Indeed, the essential power of Inuit drum dance is its ability to synthesize this collective/communal reality and individual responsibility within a network of specific relations. As such, the event is never intended to be a replica of previous events. Thus Inuit drum dance event is not subject to a form of censorship that excludes elements which do not obviously fit into the prescribed pattern.

In brief, the key to appreciating the performance is the fact that diverse elements are allowed in, and once in allowed to have their way and take their turn. This is doubtless why amongst Inuit, it is particularly impossible to ordain a successful drum dance. At the same time, this is also why it is that even in an unsuccessful drum dance performance there is always something in suspense, something at stake, something imminent or unpredictable against the predictable duple drum pulse.

THE COMMISSIONED IGLOOLIK PERFORMANCE

Spring 1986

Plate 22. a, b. PERFORMANCE SPACE AT BEGINNING OF EVENT

The beginning of the drum dance event was marked by dancers working in a relatively large space, i.e., far space.

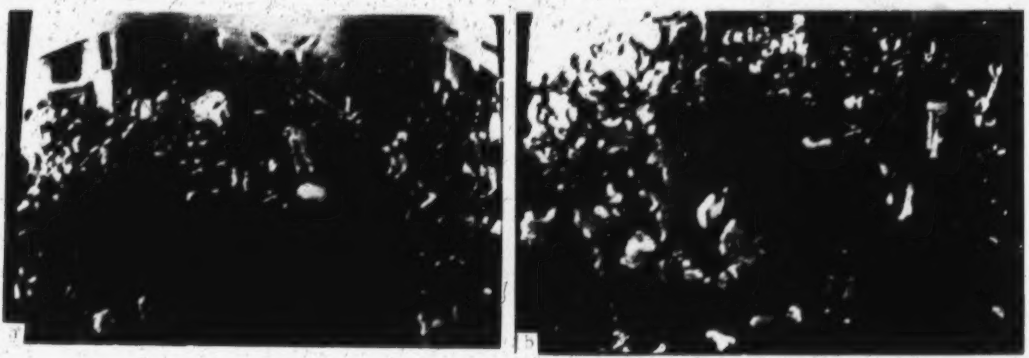
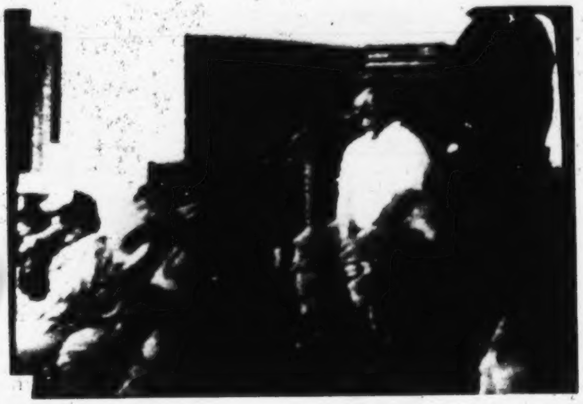


Plate 23. a,b. INTIMATE CORE SPACE

Gradually intimate core space develops at the back of the hall.

Plate [illegible]. a-c. MEN ADOPTING WOMEN'S SINGING ROLE



a

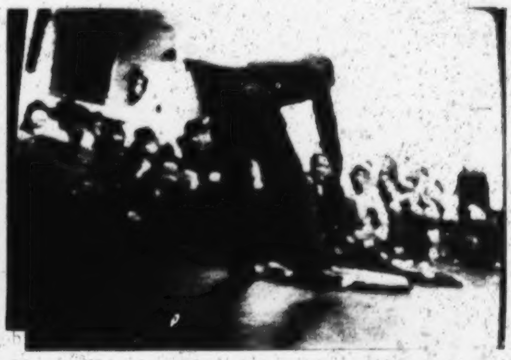
Male singers transplanting the traditional women's singing role.

b

c

A shortage of women singers in the Igloolik event meant that several males adopted the procedure of taking turns; their role extended to both singing and dancing.

PLATE 25.a-e THE ARRIVAL OF THE CAMERA CREW AND ADAPTATION TO ACCULTURATED STANDARDS



With the arrival of the camera crew, young participants crowded forward; the increased attendance-size actually destroying the performance space itself for a while.

Since the competitive context emphasized a strength and endurance component, only two young men took part. Hence the cultural idea of participation at all ages was violated.

Igloolik youngsters adopt an acculturated role of performer-audience relations: the achievement is limited to a few. Because the commissioned Igloolik performance imposed stands of rewarding the "best dancer," the traditional goal of encouraging amateurs to take part in performance was eroded.

However, a desire to handle the drum is evidenced behind the performance scene.

Plate 25 (cont'd)

With the late arrival of the film crew, a break in performance procedures enables male adolescents to demostrate their interest in drum dancing as a skill to be tried.

f

g

Plate 26. THE OPTION OF USING A TRADITIONAL OR MODERN DRUM

At this particular Igloolik event the drum dancer was faced with the option of using a traditional drum made of caribou skin or a modern drum made of nylon.

Plate 27. a,b. THE CO-PERFORMANCE TEAM

A grandfather and grandson represent the co-performance team.

Plate 28. a,b. ESTABLISHING THE CO-PERFORMANCE TEAM "ON THE SPOT"

Performers recognize the necessity of establishing song/dance partnerships "on the spot." The intuitive decision is based on observing, feeling and confirming relations through either a non-verbal or a brief verbal exchange.

Plate 29. THE WARPED DRUM HEAD

The visibly warped drumhead gives testimony to the difficulty of maintaining these instruments in heated homes.

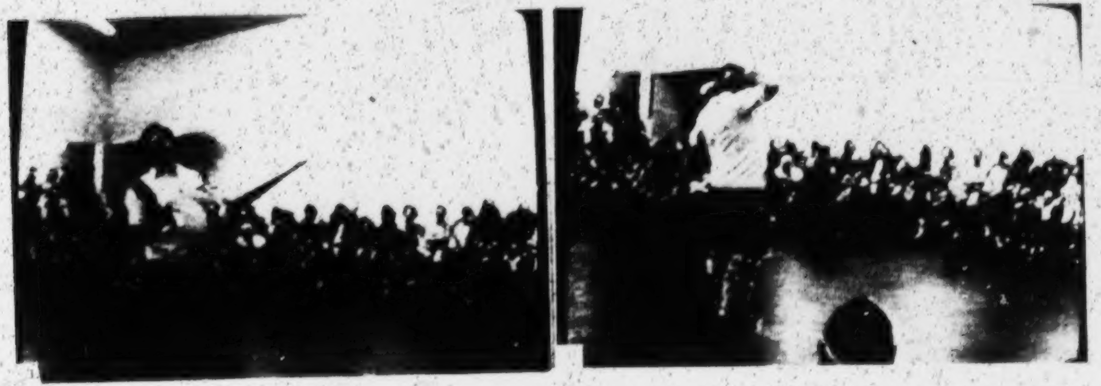


Plate 30. THE MODEST READY STANCE OF THE DRUM DANCER

Employing the traditional dramatic technique of understatement, the Igloolik drum dancer Emile Immaroittuq begins performance by modestly confessing that he is "not the best." Although the statement is verbal, the stance conveys an Inuit value of non-assertiveness.

Plate 31. THE DANCER DANCING WITH THE DRUM

Plate 32. a-e. THE CAMERA CREW TAKING CLOSE-UP SHOTS

Paradoxically, the extent to which the camera crew attempted to capture individual style differences, the greater it was reduced.

Plate 33. A DRUM DANCER'S RECOGNITION HE HAS DANCED WELL

With an unconventional howl, the drum dancer joyfully expressed his recognition that he danced well, his strategic input appreciated by the gathered members.

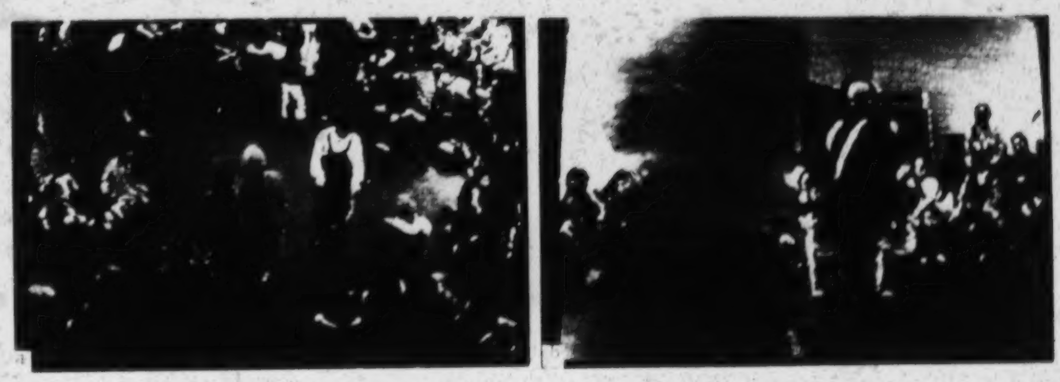


Plate 34. a, b. CHILDREN CROSSING PERFORMANCE SPACE

Young children crossing performance space in the interim period, "between turns," reduced the factor of attentiveness. Accordingly arousal was no longer linked to an accumulative process but rather modulated around individual acts of achievement.

Although dancing is characterized by a certain amount of permissive behavior, the presence of the camera appeared to promote the episode of children crossing performance space.

[illegible] Spatial Arrangement of Participants.

Traditional performance space arises as participants sit or stand vis-a-vis one another around the periphery of an open L-shaped floor plan.

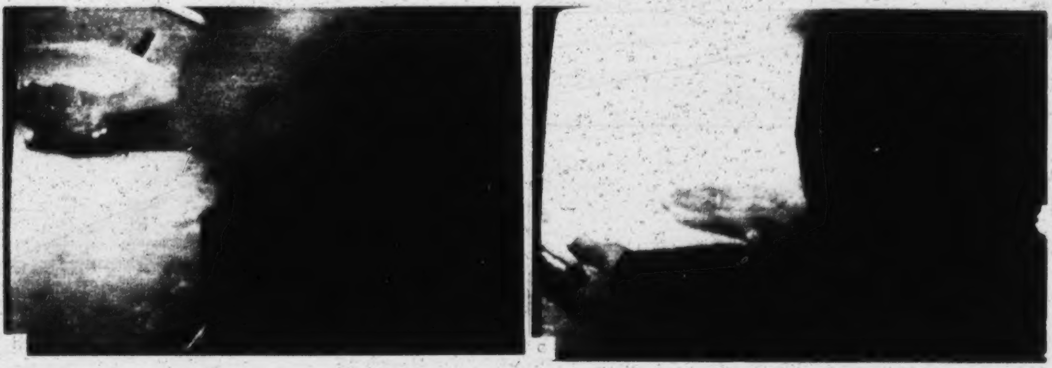
a

b

A group of seated women singers along the side and end walls of the living room signal a traditional division of space. Accordingly, the drum dancer was visually assured that a traditional chorus of women's voices would accompany his/her dance.

Plate [illegible] procedures for wetting the drum.

Both before and during event different participants attended to procedures of tuning the drum. Note the cup filled with water and the tuning stick on the floor.



A circular hand motion quickly moistens the skin drumhead on both sides. The water is obtained from the cup and squirted onto the drum head from the mouth.

The long, thin tuning stick is used to wrap the drumhead edges in order that the skinhead can be pulled tight for correct tonal properties.

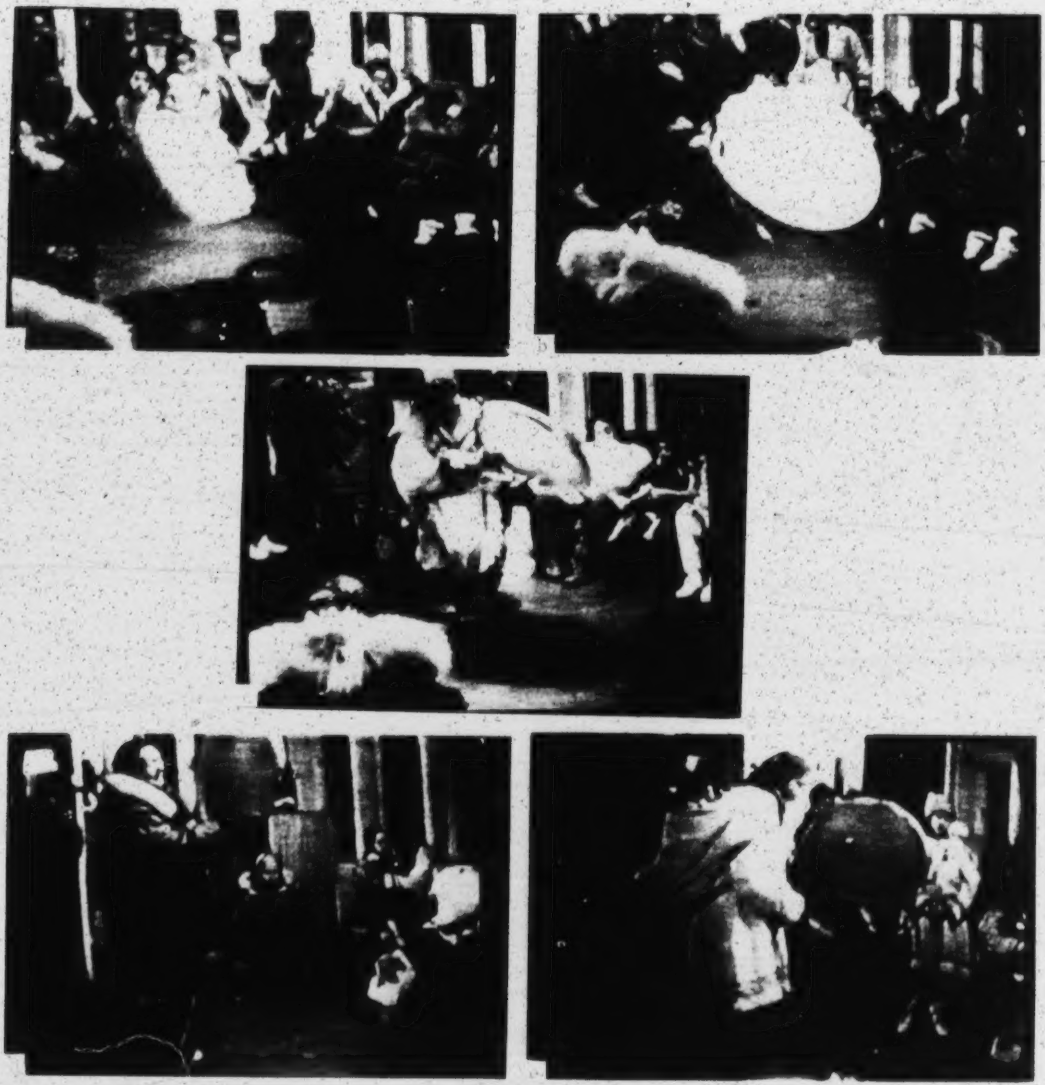


Plate 37. a-e The performance event is madifested with both male and female dancers.

Plate 38, a-c. THE DRUM DANCE MANIFESTED AS AN EDUCATIONAL FORUM
The pleasure of drum dancing is encouraged at all levels.

Plate 39: A participant non-verbally requests that the drum be passed directly.

PART IV ANALYSIS OF THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS

CHAPTER II THE DANCER AND THE DANCE

My thoughts went constantly
To the dance house
My thoughts went constantly

The dance songs and the drum
Thinking of them
My thoughts went constantly

(Excerpt from *The Great Land*.
Translated by J. Colombo
1981:100)

I am quite unable
To dance as they do
I am quite unable

Dance songs I do not know them
To dance as they do
I am quite unable

(Excerpt from *I am Quite Unable*.
Translated by J. Colombo
1981:91)*

INTRODUCTION

These excerpts of Inuit song re-direct our attention to the performers' conscious awareness that they are key players in the performance process. Although the previous chapter provided a general outline of the process, the complexity of circumstantial detail tended to emphasize the primacy of the performance context rather than the performer's role in articulating the idiom. In other words, because the totality of a performance event

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*Excerpt from *Poems of the Inuit*, 1981, edited by J. Colombo, Oberon Press, Canada.

represents a socio-cultural institution with its own established settings and procedures, the performer can seem to be so embedded in the context that we lose sight of the fact that everything related to the idiom is predicated upon his motivations and subsequent actions.

This chapter, therefore, assembles actual performance profiles of two individual dancers in two different performance situations. Unlike the earlier movement analysis (see Part II Chapters II & III) the focus here will be descriptive rather than prescriptive; spotlighting a specific dancer manifesting a specific dance. Accordingly, my purpose here is to show how the performance is fundamentally about "utterance and receiving,"* and how the idiom is being articulated and shared in a specific listening-observing situation.

A. CONSIDERATIONS IN THE MOVEMENT ANALYSIS

To facilitate my analysis of the performer's assertive influence in the performance process, I make extensive use of two video-tape recordings featuring the work of two dancers: Noah Piuqaatug from Igloolik (Profile 1) and Casimir Nutargunik of Eskimo Point (Profile 2). However, since the pragmatic aspects of filming in the Igloolik and Eskimo Point situations made it impossible to concentrate fully upon the dancer's total movements and for the complete duration of the dance, my graphic transcriptions of their styles derive from difference performance situations. Specifically, I transcribed Noah's dance after repeated viewings of an Igloolik performance commissioned by the Japanese professor Tanimoto (1987), and Casimir's after extensive analysis of a video recording of the Elder's Conference (1985) at Hall Beach.*

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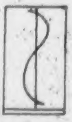
*This definition of performance is employed by the ethnomusicologist Qureshi.

Although these staged performances featured better lighting conditions and longer movement sequences, they remain unsatisfactory simply because they do not present a complete dance. The problem of selectivity further prevented the movement sequence from being recorded totally; i.e., from head to toe. Indeed, in the course of this work I encountered all the usual problems associated with notating from film -- the difficulty of assessing the amount of travel and the diagonal directions, the muted dynamics, and the dancer frequently turning away from the camera.

These problems are frankly incorporated into my transcription, and are marked by either an "ad lib" sign** represented by the following symbol  or a question mark. The ad lib sign indicates that continuous movements of a particular kind have been deduced through a study of slow-motion frames: the action suggested through weight transfers implying "on the order of" or "similar to" rather than by the actual observation of the whole body. The question mark is employed when the dancer is no longer the focus of the film. Obviously, on these occasions the movements cannot be accurately assessed.

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*Available from Igloolik IBC.

**The ad libitum sign is also known as the 'similar' sign. (See Hutchinson 1954:345-355).

The choice of performers was based not on my own personal preference for movement styles, but rather upon (1) a familiarity with the performer derived from the interview process, and (2) responses from informants who indicated that the performers had achieved a certain degree of respect from their peers and were generally accounted "good" or "professional" dancers.

Since age and experience are honored in Inuit culture,* it is not surprising that the two performers were relatively old, especially in comparison to Western standards. The age of the Igloolik dancer was estimated at "around 85" and the age of the Eskimo Point dancer at "over 60."

For my practical purposes it was obviously advantageous to select a relatively short dance and transcribe it in its entirety. Although I witnessed longer dances by these two performers in field work performances, what I have recorded here is a dance by Noah that lasted precisely two minutes and one second, and a slightly longer dance by Casimir of three minutes thirty-four seconds. With reference to the latter, it should be noted that the performance was briefly interrupted because of the singer's apparent difficulty in continuing the song. By implication, the singer was unable to match the dancer's endurance. As a result, the transcription is marked with an unconventional pause; showing when the dance was momentarily broken until the singer, perceiving the collective desire of the drum dancer and the gathered representatives to continue, resumed his performance by repeating the same dance-song.

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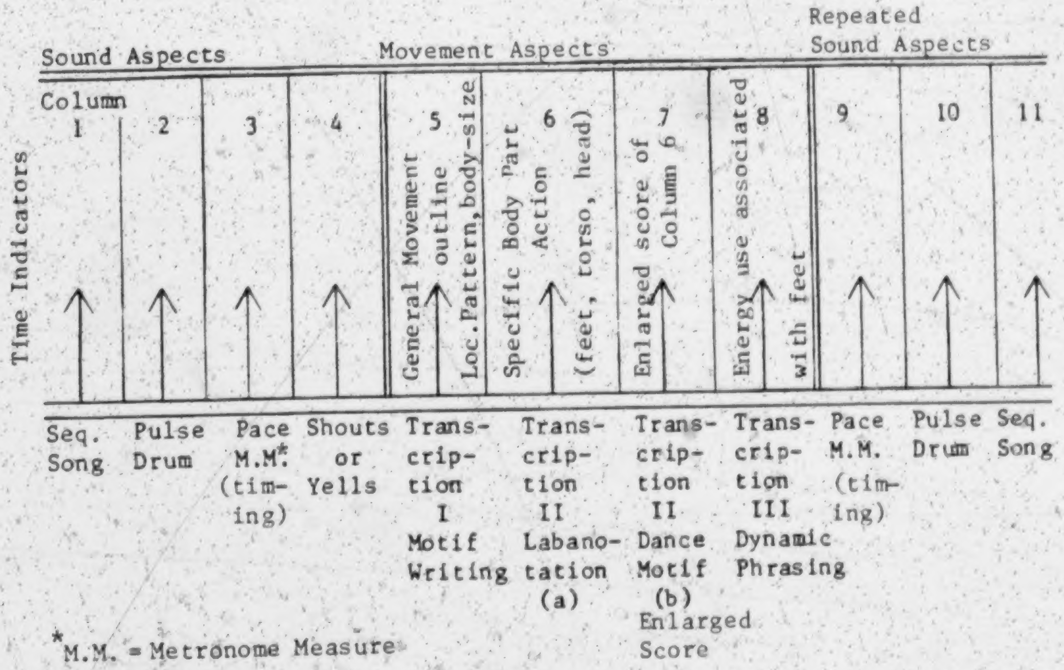
*In an extended family type of social organization, the age factor is crucial to the authority structure.

Finally, it must be recognized that in my attempt to impose order upon an amorphous mass of movement I was guided by my own appreciation of the meaningful units of movement. Thus, my transcription is informed by familiar field work techniques: observation and participation, consultation with key informants, a growing personal relationship with these informants, and in addition, repeated viewings of the video-tapes after my return from the field. It was only by such diligence that I could begin to present an emic sense of the dance idiom rather than a detached "etic" description.

B. AN OVERVIEW OF THE DESCRIPTIVE SOUND/MOVEMENT PROFILES

The following diagram visually orientates the reader to the components recorded in the Descriptive Sound/ Movement Profiles.

Figure 11. EXAMPLE OF THE DESCRIPTIVE SOUND-MOVEMENT PROFILE


Sound Aspects
Movement Aspects
Repeated Sound Aspects
Column
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
Time Indicators
General Movement outline
Loc. Pattern, body-size
Specific Body Part Action
(feet, torso, head)
Enlarged score of Column 6
Energy use associated with feet
Seq. Song
Pulse Drum
Pace M.M.* (timing)
Shouts or Yells
Transcription I Motif Writing
Transcription II Labanotation (a)
Transcription II Dance Motif (b) Enlarged Score
Transcription III Dynamic Phrasing
Pace M.M. (timing)
Pulse Drum
Seq. Song
*M.M. = Metronome Measure

The Sound Aspects

In an attempt to graph each Profile as a network of sound and movement, different kinds of information are visually charted along a vertical axis. As usual, the temporal aspects of sound are placed on the left side of the page. Specifically, these represent time indicators constituted to include (1) the duration of the song sequence, (2) the duration of the drum pulse, (3) the approximate timing of drum pace, and (4) the evocative shouts of the dancer. Unlike conventional analysis, the temporal aspects are repeated on the right side of the page (columns 9-11) in order to emphasize the importance of the drumming and to facilitate the reader's comparative correlation of how the movements correspond with the drum. As a result, the movement profile is centrally placed (columns 5-8). Thus, the two vertical temporal columns indicate how the dancer is surrounded by rhythmic sound; the Descriptive Sound/Movement Profile intentionally graphed to signify the integrated nature of song, drum and dance. A verbal translation, placed to the far right of the graph, serves to guide the novice reader in reading the enlarged notation score provided in Transcription II(b), Column 7.

Returning to the temporal aspects, each pulse of the drum is represented by a small square and an approximate measurement of pace determined by a metronome reading. The correspondence of movment with time is represented by the length of the symbol. A brief action is therefore identified by a short symbol. Conversely, a long symbol indicates that the movement occurs over several beats.

Although the drum provides a steady pulse for the movement action, the rhythm is not strictly metrical or based on regular units of measured time such as 2/4, 3/4, 4/4. As a result, I have made no attempt to measure the changes in movement sequence in accordance with particular measures of time. Thus, unlike a conventional transcription in Labanotation where the movement sequence corresponds to a standard measure of metrical time, indicated by a single bar line across the vertical staff, here, the units of time have been derived from my own perception of what constitutes an apparent phrase of movement.

The Movement Aspects

I have employed a system of Labanalysis to present the Movement Profiles. Specifically, I use three different methods of transcribing movements in vertical columns to show how the body moves in space and time. The three transcriptions involve Motif Writing, Labanotation, and Dynamic Phrasings. Placed within the temporal indicators, each transcription implies a different level of meaning and is numbered as follows: Transcription I, Transcription II(a), Transcription II(b) and Transcription III. The Labanotation transcriptions labelled II(a) and II(b) (columns 6 & 7) represent the same score written twice; the II(b) translation identifying an enlarged score that facilitates readability.

Thus the importance of II(a) is its representation of a correlation between time aspects. Specifically, the time value of one beat is equivalent to one square of graph paper. However, since it is difficult to read small symbols, in II(b) the time value is magnified to four squares. Obviously, the change in proportion implies that the movement score is removed from the temporal axis. The result is a clarification of essential details that allows a repetitive dance motif to be read at a glance.

Each transcription begins and ends with a double bar. In general, the notation enables the reader to quickly ascertain what is happening consecutively by reading vertically up the page and simultaneously by reading horizontally across the page.

C. EXPLAINING THE SYSTEMS OF NOTATION

Transcription I: Motif Writing

In the movement profile, motif writing represents a general outline of the movement. Specifically, it indicates the dancer's spatial pattern as it refers to (1) travelling and non-travelling activity and (2) changes in the (whole) body-size derived from increases and decreases in the forward torso lean. Thus, it represents both the primary (movement) feature of the dancer moving along a specific circular path and the secondary feature indicating alterations in body-size.

Transcription II(a) and II(b): Labanotation

The second Labanotation transcription is more complex since it augments the first transcription by clarifying movement details; i.e., the movement of specific body parts in a certain direction and at a certain level. As a result, the primary feature of a repetitive step-action and the secondary features indicated by the expressive gestures of the torso and head are clarified. However, my intention to record only the essential movements means that Labanotation is far from exhaustive. Indeed, in describing the Sound/Movement Profile, only an elementary to intermediate level of notation is employed.

Furthermore, in Profile II and, specifically in reference to the enlarged Transcription II(b), I have not recorded the entire dance. The difficulty of actually observing the latter half of the second dancer's performance, coupled with the difficulty of recording a longer dance meant that only the movement sequences accompanying the singing of the first song were recorded.* Still the enlarged score for the second dancer is of sufficient length since the repetitive nature of the dance allowed for the emergence of a distinctive and recognizable movement sequence.

Transcription III: Dynamic Phrasings

Finally, since a complete description of movement must take into account how the same action is translated anew with different uses of energy, a third transcription is integrated into the movement score. In Transcription III (column 8) the reader is returned to the temporal axis and presented with the nuances of execution relating to the specific information represented in Transcription II(a) (column 6).

Specifically, Transcription III provides an account of different types of dynamic phrasing. Although Inuit drum dance is characterized by the union of different body parts (arms, torso, and feet) and moving with varying kinds of intensity, it is important to recognize that it is the dynamic phrasings** of the feet that are outlined here. The latter is specifically chosen since the repetitive step pattern constitutes the major feature of Inuit drum dancing, By implication, since weight transfers are synonymous with repetitive step pattern, the elusive nature of dynamic energy expenditure can be more readily followed and transcribed using this procedure.

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*The duration representing a period of one minute seventeen seconds.

**Phrasing refers to the "expenditure of energy within one or several moments" (Maletic 1983:111).

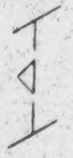
D. READING THE NOTATION

At this point, both the dance specialist and non-dance specialist are encouraged to refer to the Profile Packet. However, in order to make the movement profile accessible to the non-specialist, a preliminary step of learning to read a few basic signs as they are employed in each of the three transcriptions is presented. Thus, a descriptive explanation rather than an extended glossary is provided in the hope that the reader will actually read the movement profile. The specialist may therefore omit this section and begin to read the distinctive profiles as they appear under the heading: Descriptive (Sound/Movement) Profiles: A Comparative Description.

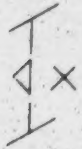
Notation: Transcription I, Motif Writing

An acquaintance with the following standard motif signs (see Descriptive Profile, column 5) will help the reader to distinguish the two dancers' intensity of their whole body actions.

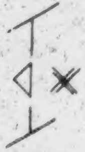
The locomotor activity is indicated by conventional path signs. Reading the signs from the bottom up, these include:



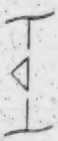
in a single direction
with sideways steps, i.e. lateral wt transfers
= Making a path in a clockwise direction



is shortened .
= As above, but the pathway

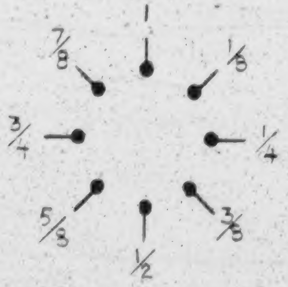


is made very small
= As above, but the pathway

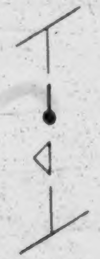


An indefinite pathway sideways
= As above, but

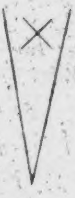
The amount of travelling on a circular path is indicated by the addition of a pin sign: the position of the pin refers to the distance travelled; for example, a full clockwise circuit through these gradients is indicated with the following pin signs.



The following symbol, combining path, direction, and distance travelled, indicates that the dancer has travelled sideways (with a front body facing) for a full clockwise circle.

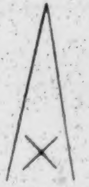


A gap in the vertical column between path signs does not signify the conventional pause or cessation of activity but represents instead a primary Inuit drum dance characteristic of re-occurring non-travelling activity; the dancer dancing on-the-spot or relatively on-the spot. Since as stated, motif writing does not record the action of special body parts, what is represented here is the non-travelling activity of changing the whole-body size. Specifically, the dancer's options are (1) to get smaller by contracting the body, (2) to return to a normal forward lean position by decreasing the contraction, or (3) to get larger by extending the body, as indicated by the following three symbols: (Again, when deciphering these symbols the reader must remember that the description unfolds upwards).



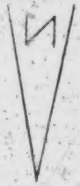
the contraction
increasing
smaller by
= The body getting

(1)



lean position
its normal
contraction to
decreasing the
= The body

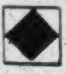
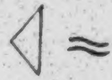
(2)



upright.
the torso
extending
larger by
getting
= The body

(3)

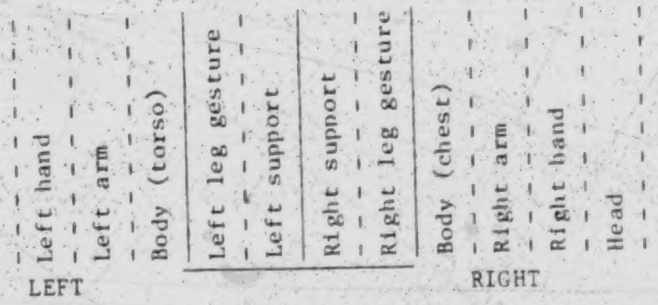
Since a change in the body-size is synonymous with slight increases and decreases in the forward torso lean, this implies that the arms carrying the drum and beater respond with a similar action. Thus the drumhead is slightly lowered or raised in the horizontal plane whenever the body gets smaller or returns the contraction to the normal forward lean position. On the other hand, the symbol to extend the body also, by implication, refers to a raising of the drum head level (via a bent arm position) into the vertical plane.

A pre-sign below the double bar indicates that the dancer begins in the middle area:  . An additional pre-sign to indicate the average step size is also included. In Profile 1, the lateral step sideways is approximately two-four inches and in Profile 2 it is estimated at six to eight inches, for example,  either two-four or six-eight inches.

Notation: Transcription II, Labanotation

In Labanotation the basic staff comprises two columns with the centre line representing the body as it is divided into right and left halves. Everthing within the staff refers to movement from the waist down and everything outside the staff represents movement from the waist up. Thus a full staff includes the basic staff divided into four columns and additional columns placed outside this configuration.

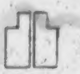
The body parts are read from the centre out, allowing for the representation of the action of the feet as well as the gestures of legs, torso, chest, hands, and head (see below). However because the torso operates as a total unit in Inuit drum dance, the chest column has been deleted.


Left hand
Left arm
Body (torso)
Left leg gesture
Left support
Right support
Right leg gesture
Body (chest)
Right arm
Right hand
Head
LEFT
RIGHT

Standard symbols in Labanotation identify the direction and the level of the movement. The direction is indicated by the shape of the symbol and the level is signified by the shading of the symbol. Directional signs used in the profiles include:

◁ = Left sideways.

▷ = Right sideways.

 = forward.

▯ = place position (i.e, normal vertical).

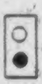
The levels are indicated by shading:

⊡ = a middle level represented by a dot.

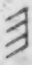
▨ = a high level represented by stripes.

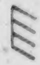
▮ = a deep level represented by full shading.

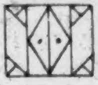
Directional symbols in the support column refer to weight transfers of the feet. Other body parts include:

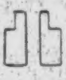
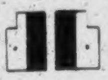
 = the whole torso

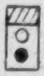
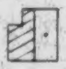
C = the head

 = the left hand

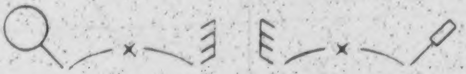
 = the right hand

The starting position of the feet and arms are recorded below the beginning double line. In the support column the symbol for the feet  identifies the normal place position as a "comfortable" or "easy" second. The leg gesture symbol (next to the support column) clarifies that the second position is retained as "parallel" or "hip-track." Moreover, since the middle level implies a flexed knee position, the level is more accurately described as middle-low.

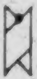
The beginning drumming position (placed in the arm column before the double bar) notes the direction and level of the upper limbs. Since the upper arm hangs down beside the body, the symbol for a low placement is used; i.e. . The forearms, held in front of the body and parallel to the floor, are indicated by the forward-middle symbol; i.e.  . Thus, taken together the starting position for both arms is represented as .

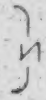
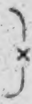
Since the torso adapts to the drumming action, and this drumming action is continuous, the torso forward lean is generally maintained throughout the dance. Sometimes, however, if the dancer's tendency is to raise the forward torso lean into an upright position, this is indicated by the symbol . Moreover, because the upper limbs respond to this torso gesture, the symbol  indicates that the left arm has been raised (in a flexed position, and the drumhead dramatically altered from its normal horizontal (middle) plane to a vertical (high) plane.

Returning to the starting position, and referring to the hand column, the drummer's right or left handedness is indicated. The following symbol denotes a right handed drummer since the beater is in the right (Rt) hand and the drum held in the left (Lt).



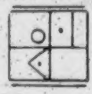
Conversely, a reversal of the beater and drum sign indicates that the drummer is left handed.

Finally, the two standard pre-signs at the beginning of the vertical staff and below the information convey the basic information that the focal point of the dancer is in front,  and that the dancer is male . Also, below the head column, the amount of head involvement is indicated by a vertical curved bow that relates the degree of inclusion as greater or lesser; respectively,

 or  .

The Non-Conventional Labelling of Travelling and Non-Travelling Pattern

Before I explain the relevant symbols used to record the drum dancer's step action, it should be noted that in order to facilitate an easier reading of the Labanotation score I have inserted an unconventional method of clarifying travelling and non-travelling patterns. Specifically, I have labelled lateral weight transfers associated with travelling activity as "Pattern A" and the non-travelling activity associated with vertically raising and lowering the centre of gravity, as "Pattern B."

In addition, something of the rhythmic variation is indicated by adding a small number or letter to the initial capital letter. If the rhythmic variations are derived from particular step combinations, such as a jog step, assemblé, or hop action, these are indicated by A_1, B_2, and B_3. On the other hand, if the rhythmic variation is derived from a weight hold indicating slight and definite pauses, then a small letter is added. For example, a weight transfer held for four counts is indicated by 'A_a', and a three count hold by 'A_b.' Conversely, if the weight does not raise and lower on double supports in the normal two-count body-bounce activity but simply lowers on one count before the transfer of weight, this is indicated by 'B_d'.* In addition, a weight hold is represented by a conventional retention sign; a small circle placed in the centre of the support column to identify which foot holds and which foot move. The following symbol  describes the left foot (Lt Ft) moving left on the count of one while the weight (wt) is kept on the left foot and the right foot moves left into a normal position (next to the left foot). In this example, the action is understood to end with the weight on both feet, since a step on either foot cancels the previous hold sign. Moreover, the timing is relatively brief since the two-part action (signifying two lateral weight transfers) corresponds with the duple drum pulse.

As described earlier, subtle variations on this basic two-part action occur when the foot rhythm slows, i.e., when the time value associated with lateral weight transfers lasts three or four counts rather than the basic two counts. For example, if the two-part action retains the weight on the one (lead) foot for a duration of three or four counts, this means that the action is then manifested on the opposite side. Conversely, if the three or four count action phrase ends with the weight on both feet, then the movement can continue either in a single direction (cl.w) or to the opposite side (c.cl.w.)

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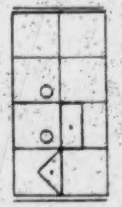
*The small letters a, b, and d, can be perceived as representing an approximate whole, three-quarter, and quarter note value respectively.

Recording The Step Action: Relevant Symbols

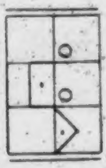
Figure 12. LABANOTATION: EXAMPLES OF PATTERN A

The following examples of Pattern A illustrate the nuances in timing related to a settling of the weight with different durations on single or double supports. (Again, the notation reads from the bottom up.)



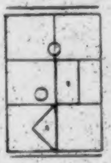
the Lt. Ft. for 4 cts.
The wt. does not transfer but is retained on
Rt. Ft. moves Lt. to place normal
= Step Lt. on the Lt. Ft. and retain the wt. as the

Example 1: A_a = 4 cts.



The weight is retained on the Rt. Ft. for 3 cts.
the Lt. Ft. moves into normal place.
= Step Rt. on Rt. Ft. and retain the wt. as the

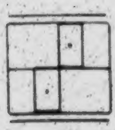
Example 2: A_b = 3 cts.
(ending on a single support)



The action ends on both feet.
the Rt. Ft. moves into place normal.
= Step Lt. on Lt. Ft. and retain the wt. as

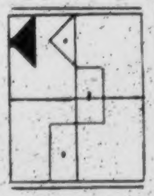
or
Example 2: A_b = 3 cts.
(ending on a double support)

A few examples of rhythmic variation derived from step actions include:



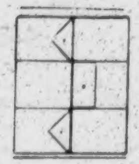
Step Rt. Ft. in place
Step Lt. Ft. in place

Example A_1 = a jog-like step



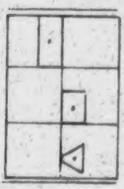
½ gesture.
½ support and
The Lt. leg is used as
Step Rt. Ft. in place
Step Lt. Ft. in place

Example A_3 = a jig-like step
(3 actions in 2 cts.)



Lt. Ft. Lt.
Step Rt. Lt. in place position
Step Lt. Ft. Lt.

Example A_4 = 3 lateral wt transfers in a single direction

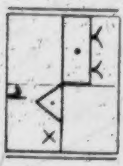


Step Lt. with Lt. Ft.

land on Rt. Ft.
and
Step Lt. with Rt. Ft., hop

Example A6 = Hop and Step (stressing uneven rhythm)

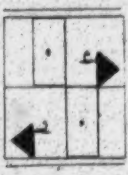
As discussed earlier (Part II. Chapter II), the step action in Inuit drum dance is characterized by the feet touching or brushing over the floor. Sometimes the heel of the foot is raised only slightly to emphasize a small slide or shuffle-like action on one-quarter of the sliding foot. This specific movement is recorded by a straight line attached to the directional symbols in the gesture column. The following examples identify varying amounts of foot contact with the floor.



with the whole Rt. Ft. in contact with the floor.
the Rt. Ft. sliding next to the Lt. Ft.,
with the ball of the foot in constant floor contact.
A small sliding step left,

Example A# = 2 small lateral wt transfers in a single direction
Articulated with sliding foot gestures,

If the sliding sideways foot and leg gesture is associated with a jog-step, this is recorded as such:

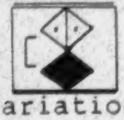


gesture of the Rt. Ft. (sdw low).
wt. transfer onto the Lt. Ft. with a simultaneous
simultaneous gesture of the Lt. Ft. (sdw low).
Wt transfers onto the Rt. Ft. with a

Example A_2 = jog-like step with simultaneous sdw leg gesture

Examples of Pattern B

In the alternate Pattern B, weight transfers occur vertically. Frequently, the "body-bounce" activity involves a rising and sinking action in which the body never becomes airborne. The following symbol (Example B)

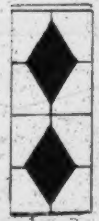


records a parallel second foot position and variations in level changes representing increased knee and ankle flexion during the body-bounce. The two-phased down-up action is timed on the two drum counts. The staple placed to the left indicates that the action remains "on-the-spot", with the feet anchored to the ground.

Often the body-bounce movement becomes spring-like: the action transitioning into small jumps and hops. A gap in the support column indicates a loss of contact with the floor as the body becomes momentarily airborne. An action stroke, indicated as a line before the symbol, records the preparatory action.

Figure 13. LABANOTATION: EXAMPLES OF PATTERN B.

Examples of Pattern B as jumping variations include:

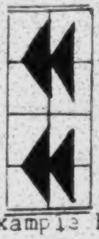


landing on 2 feet

and

jumping from 2 feet

Example B_4 = Small jumps

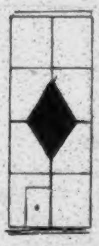


land on 2 feet

and

jump sdw Lt. on 2 ft

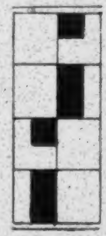
Example B_1 = Small sdw jumps Lt.



(assemblé)
to both feet

A jump from the Lt. Ft.

Example B_2 = Assemblé



land on Rt. Ft.
and
wt. on Rt. Ft., hop

land on same Lt. Ft.
and
wt. on Lt. Ft., hop

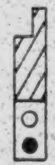
Example B_3 = The Hop

Recording the Torso and Head Action

Gestural actions of the torso and the head, emphasized as secondary style options, are recorded outside the leg gesture columns. Symbols placed above the body part indicate the specifics of directional level. For example:

◁ Lt. side high

C = The head tilts

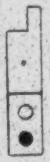


Fwd. High

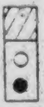
indicates

= The torso lean

Further examples of torso lean, representing the body getting smaller and larger, include:

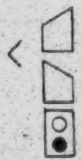


("getting smaller")
is fwd. middle -
= The torso lean position



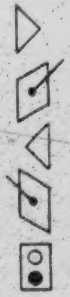
(extended to upright)
is normal high
= The torso lean

Because the torso responds to the upper limb action of playing the drum, the movements of the torso are complex. Accordingly, the recorded nuances often refer to several simultaneous actions, such as a slight turning, twisting, leaning, bending, and rounding of the back. However, the complexity is reduced here to include only what is most obvious. For example:



diagonally Right
diagonally left and
= The torso tilts

The caret symbol, < or >, is used to indicate that the action is continuous or remains in effect. Sometimes a more complex notation indicating near simultaneous turns and tilts of the torso is used. For example:



tilts right.
turns and
tilts left
turns and
= The torso

The head also responds to the strong drum beat. Its movements are recorded in the head column. Examples include:

▷ right high
< ◁ tilts left high and
C = The head

▷ and tilts right high
◁ tilts middle level
C = The head

Although caret signs (recording continuous action) are used in the preceding examples, a hold sign ('o') and a cancellation sign ('o') are also employed. For example:

⊙ = The head action is cancelled.
○ holds position.
◁ tilts left and
C = The head

Notation: Transcription III, Types of Dynamic Phrasing

While the preceding symbols record the quantitative aspects of movement, the symbols employed in Transcription III notate the dancer's general use of energy in the repetitive step action. A review of the following signs representing different types of dynamic phrasing (see Part II Chapter III) will enable the reader to immediately distinguish the two dancers' profiles in terms of an overall energy pattern.

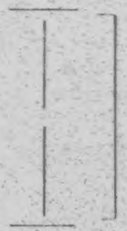
Figure 14. TYPES OF DYNAMIC PHRASINGS

Associated with

TRAVELLING AND NON-TRAVELLING PATTERNS IN INUIT DRUM DANCE

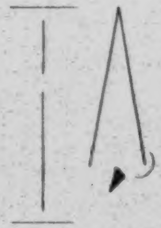
A. TRAVELLING PATTERN

2-phased action i.e. "step together"



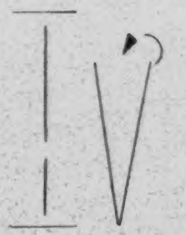
Even:
Equal Intensity

Lateral wt transfers sdw



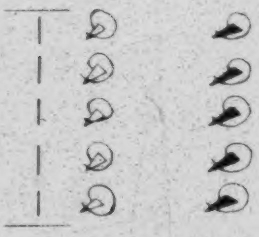
Impulsive:
Decreasing Intensity

i.e. 'limp' step on lead leg



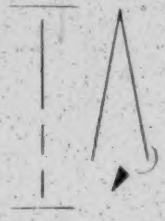
Impactive:
Increasing Intensity

i.e. 'limp' step on trail leg



Resilient: Light, Strong
Several rebounding steps
i.e. jog step 'going round'

3-phased action

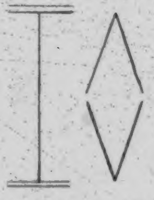


Impulsive = hop and step, i.e. catch-step

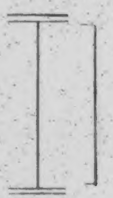
Figure 14 (cont'd)

B. NON-TRAVELLING PATTERN

Single Phased Action

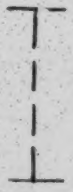


Increasing and Decreasing Intensity i.e. Body Bounce

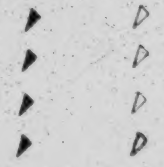


Even =
Equal Intensity
i.e. lateral sway in warm-up

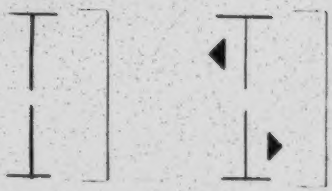
2-phased action Lateral/side-side



Resilient = rebounding
i.e. jogging on-the-spot, stationary hops

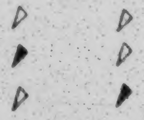


Accented = several repeated exertions
i.e. 2-foot landings stressing
strong or light



Even =
Equal Intensity
i.e. side-side split-level lunge

3-phased action



jig-like step =
3-phased action in
2 cts usually contrasting
strong and light

E. CORRELATING THE DESCRIPTIVE SOUND/MOVEMENT PROFILES: COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION

My analysis now proceeds to a translation of the descriptive profiles. Having identified the different symbols used in the sound/movement profile, I will move to the next level of analytical abstraction, comparing and integrating the parts so that the whole may become transparent. In the course of this section, I will clarify what is captivating about Inuit drum dance through an assessment of individual style differences between the two dancers.

Correlating the Sound

An understanding of the sound aspects of Inuit drum dance can best be gained by augmenting the following discussion with a visual reading of the score and by listening to the aijai song, drum pulse, pace, and voice shouts recorded on the enclosed audio-cassette (see Profile Packet I and II).

The Song-Dance Beginning

In Profile 1, we note that the singer independently begins the song-dance performance. It is the sound of the song that encourages the dancer to begin the warmup phase characterized by the beater-hand action of lightly and slowly tapping the near rim of the drumhead. Conversely, in Profile 2, it is the dancer who leads the singer into the performance. In both cases, since the warmup sound is relatively brief (representing a duration of only ten drum taps), the two dancers appear to be aware of a contemporary performance dictate "if you don't have a long song, then you must have a fast start .... get on the right track and go with the singer at the same time" (N. Piugaatug, Igloolik, 1987).

Traditionally, the warmup period was comparatively protracted as "singer and audience often took a long time to warm up to the drum" (Ibid.). Here, however, the decision to begin almost immediately, suggests a certain insecurity or a loss of co-operative independence between the dancer and the singer. Perhaps the contemporary reality of "being lucky to see a long drum dance today because either the dancer gets tired or the singer forgets the lines" (H. Lloyd)* also indicates that due to a lack of song practice fewer and shorter dance songs are being sung. As a result, since the dancer's dependence on the song implies that a short song is synonymous with a short dance,** we can speculate that in contemporary performances the dancer's tendency is to cut short both the warmup and the preparatory phase of the drum dance.

---

*The informant H. Lloyd is not Inuit, but has lived in the North for several years and is married to an Inuit woman. Presently he is living in Rankin Inlet and works for CBC.

**Unless the song is repeated to extend the dance.

While both profiles feature a relatively fast start, this is particularly apparent in Profile 1. The warmup activity of tapping the near rim is brief, and the preparatory phase of moving into the dance is almost non-existent. Specifically, whole weight transfers are begun only three beats after the duple pulse indicates the beginning phase of the dance. In contrast, the second dancer's preliminary phase of moving into the dance lasts for a full seventeen drum counts; the duple pulse accompanied by partial as well as whole body weight shifts.

The Pace

Accompanying the two dancers, we note that the pace of the drum pulse varies considerably. The first dancer's obvious interest is in producing a rhythmic variation derived from the drum, since the pulse is frequently altered with slight increases and decreases. Notably, the pace varies from beginning to end by as much as forty-five metronome measures. In contrast, the second dancer proceeds to manifest a rhythmic variation derived by stressing his role as a dancer. Specifically, he underplays his role as a drummer by maintaining a more regular pulse and at a relatively slow pace. As a result, the variation in pace from beginning to end is represented by thirty metronome measures; a comparative difference of fifteen metronome measures.

Moreover, although twice during the dance both dancers kept the pulse at a regular pace, the duration manifested by the second dancer represented a relatively long time period, equivalent to approximately 60 cts - at between 126 and 132 mm - (see Profile II), compared to a briefer period of approximately 23 cts at 126 mm and 35 cts at 144 mm manifested by the first dancer, (see Profile I). Thus, while the first dancer conveyed endurance through his ability to quicken the pulse at will, for short periods, and at a relatively fast pace, the second dancer achieved the same effect through steady sustainment, and for a longer duration.

The Shout

The dancer's characteristic shout appears to manifest intensity and communicate a heightened involvement in the dance. In Profile 1 the first shout signals the dancer's intention to move into the dance by locomoting on the circumference. The remaining three shouts are used to introduce a recurring non-locomotor theme. More significantly, the four shouts are all relativelyl long and expansive; the three syllables sung out over six to eight counts and ending with a rise in pitch, (for example: ah --- uhh, ah --- hh, ah - a - a).

Unlike Profile 1, where the shouts punctuate a particular pattern of movement, the second dancer's shouts serve as an acoustic reinforcement that underlines the exertion entailed in performing a single action. Accordingly, the dancer's own breath rhythms are stressed. Specifically, in a total of ten short shouts, the accent upon the breath is consistently indicated by a brief, pulsating rhythm that mirrors a rhythm of inhalation and exhalation. Here the shout is four or five accented syllables occurring over three to five beats (for example, je haw haw ho). One can cautiously interpret that the degree of intimacy conveyed by the latter breath shout is greater, since the conspicuous use of energy more clearly denotes personal effort. In other words, it is speculated that the use of stacatto-like breath rhythms effectively serves to communicate an Inuit value of individuals striving in labors of invention.

Correlating the Movements

Spatial Path

With reference to the Motif Writing, Transcription

I, it is readily observable that both dancers employ a characteristic combination of travelling and non-travelling activity on a circular path. However, in Profile 1, it is noteworthy that the first dancer devises his dance to represent this pattern as two distinct and separately recurring movement phrases. He begins with a locomotor sequence, represented by a complete circle clockwise, and proceeds to a stationary dance that remains "on-the-spot." Repeated three times the entire dance is constituted by a rotating pattern emphasizing simplicity and symmetry.

Indeed, in Profile 1, a remarkable sense of symmetry is derived from the durational phase associated with both non-travelling and travelling activity. Moreover, the informal dance is marked with a near equal duration in the non-locomotor phase (see below).

Table 18. CORRELATING THE MOVEMENT: PROFILE I

Rotating Movement Sequence	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	Total Duration
(1) Path: Total of 3 circles clockwise		↻		↻		↻		
Duration: Travelling count =		52		30		26		106 counts
(2) "On-the-spot" Duration: Non-travelling count =	3		46		52		42	140 counts

According to Igloolik informants it is this stress upon this non-locomotor phase that distinguishes Iglulik from Keewatin dancers. Paul Apak explains that dancers from their region "do not travel much" and that dancers from Keewatin tend to "move around a lot."*

Also evident in Profile 1 are details of simplicity associated with the use of space. For example, the dancer's central path represents a spiral floor pattern, since the dancer travels in three complete clockwise circles that gradually reduce the distance travelled on each circumference. Specifically, the duration required to complete each circle was, respectively, 50, 30, and 26 drum beats.

This spatial path stands in vivid contrast to the cogent feature in Profile 2. This Motif Transcription relates that the second dancer traces two nearly equal clockwise circles within the duration of a single song. The repetition of the song determines the recorded total of four circular pathways, each traced at approximately the same size. However, what makes the second dancer unique is not the number of circles traced, but the manner in which he builds the path (see Profile 2, Rotating Movement Sequence below).

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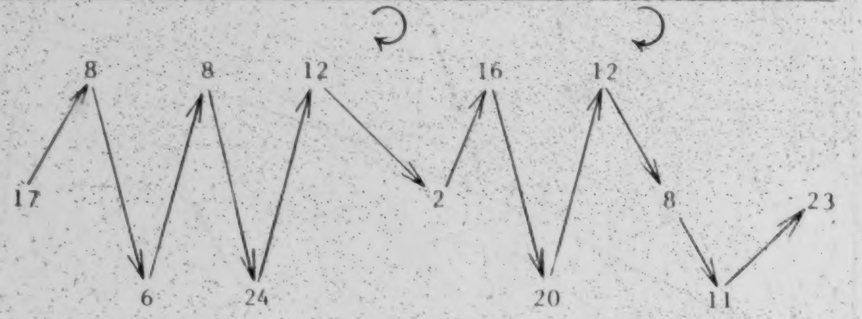
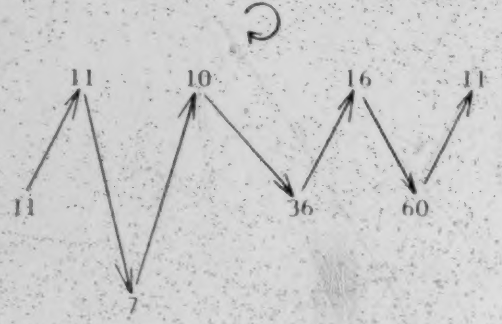
*Paul Apak's remark (1986) is particularly important since his observations are derived from IBC work which entails repeated drum dance filming and interviews with Elders from various regions.

Table 19. CORRELATING THE MOVEMENT: PROFILE 2

The Rotating Movement Sequence	Song 1 2 1 3 1 3 1 2 1 3 1 2 3 2	Total Duration
1. Path: Total of 2 circles		
Duration Count: Travelling		56 cts
2. Duration Count: Non-travelling i.e. on-the-spot		33 cts
3. Duration Count: Relatively on-the-spot		62 cts



The Rotating Movement Sequence	Song 1 Repeated 2 1 3 1 2 1 2 1	Total Duration
1. Path: Total of 2 circles		
Duration Count: Travelling		48 cts
2. Duration Count: Non-travelling i.e. on-the spot		107 cts
3. Duration Count: Relatively on-the-spot		7 cts



Specifically, the spatial pattern in Profile 2 is not represented by a concise, well-defined path, in which the circles are, as it were, cut out from the surrounding space. Instead, the path is built gradually and deliberately since the dancer chooses to stop at arbitrary spots on the circumference and engage in a series of stationary dances. Moreover, because the latter is frequently characterized by the dancer alternating the repetitive action to the opposite side, the pattern is no longer etched in a single sideways direction. In brief, this dance involves not only the primary feature of dancing "on-the-spot" but dancing relatively "on-the-spot".

The effect of this tendency to stop frequently on the central path and to devise movements that repeat themselves on the other side communicates a concern for a particular place as opposed to manifesting a durational rhythm for purposes of going to a certain place on the circumference. In other words, the lingering image we take from this drum dancer's dance is the movements themselves, their articulation and alternating, bilateral symmetrical pattern. Thus, in addition to the spatial pattern customarily connoted by travelling and non-travelling sequences, (the latter identifying both dancing "on-the-spot" and relatively "on-the-spot"), the movement structure in Profile 2 stresses a symmetry associated with natural body movements. Specifically, the dance is characterized with predominate (body) features identifying up and down and side to side actions; the feet moving apart and together, the upper limbs away and towards, and the torso lean increased and decreased. In addition, a significant contrast is established between the upper body mobility and lower body stability.

The Body-Size

In Profile 1 the dancer's yell consistently signals a reduced body-size during the non-locomotor phase. Furthermore, this decrease in size is consistently accompanied by a relatively fixed timing. Specifically, the forward lean is increased over 5-6 counts, the reduced shape held 7-10 counts, and the torso quickly released to its characteristic forward lean position in 2 counts.

Conversely in Profile 2, a marked irregularity of movement demonstrates the dancer's ability to invent movement spontaneously. In contrast to the first dancer, the non-travelling activity does not necessarily signal the dancer's intentions to alter the body-size. However, where alterations do occur, the action is to increase or decrease the shape/size. The former is marked by a raising of the torso and the drumhead into the vertical plane. Because the second dancer's movement is comparatively and generally less predictable, the torso can extend upward over a duration of between 3 to 7 counts, the upright position can be held for anywhere between 2 and 5 counts, and the forward lean can return to the horizontal plane in 2 to 4 counts.

The Foot Pattern

A quick glance at the Labanotation score (Transcription II(a) and (b)) indicates that the support columns in both profiles stress a simplicity and continuity characteristic of the repetitive step pattern. Although countless variations may arise, the following comparative summary of the step pattern shows that both dancers rely on a basic locomotor step comprising two lateral weight transfers in a single direction, normally left, and a basic non-travelling action indicating a body-bounce action on double supports.

We can see from this that the first dancer employs a minimum of variation in the travelling and non-travelling step patterns. Conversely, the second dancer tends to articulate variations in Pattern A by durational pauses lasting three or four counts, and supplements the action with step additions, subtractions and foot gestures.

Furthermore, unlike the first dancer, he employs variations in Pattern B; the rising and lowering of the centre of gravity, associated with both double and single supports, i.e., jumps and hops. For a comparative summary of rhythmic variation derived from repetitive step pattern see Figure 15.

The Rhythmic Dimension

i. The Feet and the Drum

The first dancer phrases his locomotor steps and stationary body-bounce activity in time with a medium paced drum pulse.* Only occasionally does he quicken the step action with a leg gesture that subdivides the single drum pulse.** The second dancer, by contrast, tends to operate his body as a secondary drum. His rhythmic step action not only accents the drum with simultaneous phrasings, but repeatedly contrasts the drum with divided tempos and syncopated rhythms; the phrasing both simultaneous and almost simultaneous. Also the second dancer periodically decreases the number of step actions accompanying the drum. Specifically, the locomotor pattern is frequently slowed to coincide with every second, third, or fourth pulse.***

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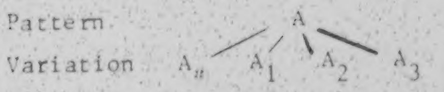
*The time equivalent to an approximate ¼ note value.

**The time equivalent to an approximate 1/8 note value.

**Respectively, a 1/2, 3/4, or whole note value.

Figure 15. A COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF REPETITIVE STEP PATTERNS

PROFILE 1



Key A: Single Supports
(lateral wt transfers)

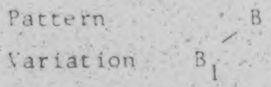
A = 2 lateral wt transfers in a single direction i.e. "step-together"

$A_{\#}$ = same, but a smaller sliding step

A_1 = jog-like step, i.e. lateral wt transfers in Place position

A_2 = single wt transfer + sdw (low) foot gesture

A_3 = jig-like step of 3 actions in 2 cts i.e. 2 wt transfers + sdw (low) foot gesture

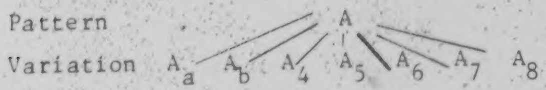


Key B: Double Supports
(vertical wt transfers)

B = Body Bounce

B_1 = small sdw jumps

PROFILE 2



Key A: Single Supports

(lateral wt transfers)

RHYTHMIC PATTERN DERIVED FROM WT HOLDS

A_a = single lateral wt transfer held 4 cts on supporting lead foot

A_b = single lateral wt transfers held 3 cts on supporting lead foot

RHYTHMIC PATTERN DERIVED FROM STEP ACTION

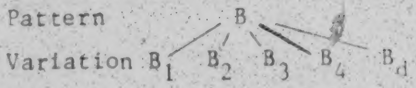
A_4 = 3 single lateral wt transfers sdw

A_5 = a jog-like step "in place" and a single sdw lateral wt transfer

A_6 = side gallop emphasizing uneven rhythm

A_7 = lateral wt transfers with the foot crossing slightly in front

A_8 = the jog-step of "going round" with a side body facing; the wt transfers fwd



Key B: Double and Single Supports

(vertical wt transfers)

B = Body Bounce

B_d = wt hold held 1 ct

B_2 = Assemble, i.e. small jumps from 1 foot to 2 feet

B_3 = small hops, i.e. small jump from 1 foot to the same foot

B_4 = small jumps on-the-spot, i.e. 2 feet to 2 feet

ii. The Head and Torso Gestures

The first dancer's head and torso action reinforces the simultaneous phrasings of the feet and drum. However, sometimes he stresses the rhythmic importance of the drum and feet by actively restraining the movment of the head. The second dancer, conversely, employs the body-part rhythm of the head and torso to activate the whole body. Accordingly, Profile 2 is characterized by continuous side to side head and torso gestures.

Specifically, the first dancer employs the head to duplicate and echo the implusive phrasings of the feet. This is evident since his head frequently tilts left on every second drum pulse; the action timed to correspond with each clockwise step of the lead foot. In contrast, the second drum dancer's released 'trailing head' action is timed to coincide with the beater hand action of contacting both the far and near rim. Because the head and torso are integrated into the drumming action, the upper body seems to exemplify the duple pulse of the drum. Accordingly, he achieves a marked spatial rhythm associated with a contrast between the upper mobile unit and the lower stable unit.

Correlating the Dynamic Phrasings

We have already stated how a consideration of types of phrasing is necessary in order to understand how Transcription I and II are united into a single dynamic structure. Transcription III represents this structure of energy expenditure by concentrating on changes in the dancer's actual use of the centre of gravity. Thus, by following the dancer's foot pattern, we can witness the unfolding of a progressional use of energy related to weight transfers.

A quick glance at the recorded phrasings immediately informs us that in Inuit drum dancing the culturally appropriate phrase length is comparatively long.* Equally apparent is the cultural stress on symmetry associated with the phrasings. Accordingly, two types of dynamic phrasing with nearly equal durational periods are frequently juxtaposed together, or a pattern of balanced opposition is emphasized by altering a long phrase (such as exemplyfing impulsive or increasing and decreasing intensity) with a relatively short phrase (for example, accented or resilient).

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*The dance ethnologist A. Royce (1977:189) suggests that long and short dance phrases indicate variations in movement styles that are relevant to both cross-cultural and creative studies. Specifically, she states that "just as an individual's cultural identity can be ascertained quickly from posture, so can identity be determined by the use of a particular length of phrase."

Figure 16. A COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF DYNAMIC PHRASINGS

PROFILE 1

Types of Dynamic Phrasings	Repeated Sequences	Durational Phrase Comparing			
		Body Cts*		Drum Cts	
I. Increasing	6x	42	=	42	
and		19	=	19	
decreasing		2	=	3	
Intensity		2	=	3	
		19	=	19	
		10	=	10	
Total duration		94	=	96	
II. Accented	5x	3	=	2	repeated
		4	=	8	
		6	=	2	
		3	=	2	
		3	=	2	repeated
Total duration		19	=	26	
III. Resilient	3x	10	=	10	
		24	=	24	
		3	=	3	
Total duration		37	=	37	
IV. Impulsive	3x	52	=	52	
		8	=	8	
		16	=	16	
Total duration		76	=	76	

PROFILE 2

Types of Dynamic Phrasings	Repeated Sequences	Durational Phrase Comparing		
		Body Cts		Drum Cts
I. Increasing	8x	20	=	25
and		16	=	25
Decreasing		24	=	29
Intensity		8	=	7
		14	=	24
		36	=	44
		32	=	34
Total duration		150	=	188
II. Even	1x	20	=	35
Total duration		20	=	35
III. Impulsive	4x	12	=	12
		2	=	2
		10	=	10
		8	=	8
Total duration		32	=	32
IV. Resilient	2x	12	=	12
		12	=	12
Total duration		24	=	24
V. Accented	3x	4	=	8
		7	=	14
		6	=	13
Total duration		17	=	35

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*Body Counts refer to Body Actions.

In the preceding chart the types of dynamic phrasings are listed; the order dependent upon the frequency as well as its duration. From the data (see Figure 16) it is apparent that several other subsidiary types of phrasings are employed in the course of the dance.

A focus upon the first profile indicates that the dancer's preference related to the duration of the type of phrasing, and ordered in reference to the drum count is increasing and decreasing intensity, impulsive, resilient and accented. Closer scrutiny reveals that although accented phrasing is introduced five times, it represents a relatively short period. Specifically, he employs this category for very brief transitional periods. Specifically, the phrasing is associated with a three-phased action; i.e., a jog-like step which contrasts the duple drum pulse, as well as small jumps sideways (on double supports) which stress every alternate drum beat as a result of the landing. For example, the whole body weight stresses 4 of 8 cts and 6 of 12 cts.

The relatively short duration of resilient phrasing (i.e., 37 drum counts) also suggests its use as a transitional sequence. Furthermore, because the first dancer twines this resilient, rebounding phrasing with non-travelling jog-steps, and since the phrasing is frequently associated with a release of the torso from a forward lean into a nearly upright position, it is also obvious that he employs this type of phrasing as a recuperative phase. This is further substantiated because his movement during this phase typically tends to become weighty; his disposition towards weight connotes heaviness rather than buoyancy. However, because this recuperative period is quickly followed by an intensification of energy and a concomitant quickening of pace, the first dancer also articulates the end of resilient phrasing with jog steps that represent bursts of energy.

Although the first dancer employs only three repetitions of implusive phrasing pattern, it nevertheless serves as a dominant dynamic motif due to its expanded duration (i.e., 76 cts). The pattern is also significant because it represents the basic locomotor step used to travel clockwise, as well as its placement at the beginning of the dance.

With reference to the second dancer's dynamic profile, the primary category of increasing and decreasing intensity is particularly significant since the phrasing is repeated eight times (compared to six).

Moreover, its total durational period (in reference to the drum count), is almost twice that of the first dancer, (for example, 188 cts rather than 96 cts). Of particular note in this type of phrasing is the second dancer's tendency to stress the element of flow. As a result, his energy use is frequently characterized by a swing-like quality.

While even phrasing is not employed by the first dancer, the second dancer uses this type of phrasing at the beginning of the dance and for a relatively long duration (i.e., 35 drum cts). The extended sequence serves as a variant in lateral weight transfers, the action featuring both partial and whole body weight shifts.

Noticeably absent in the phrasing of the second dancer is the category of implusive phrasing. Instead, his locomotor phase highlights impactive phrasing in which the intensity builds to a strong accent associated with side-gallop steps. This occurs four times for a total duration of 32 counts. Although resilient phrasing is evidenced only twice, the total duration is relatively long, (i.e., 24 cts). Moreover, an equal number of body and drum counts indicates a period of intensified energies associated with the dancer's quickened pace; the repetitive step simultaneous with each drum count.

Finally, it is evidenced that the second drum dancer employs accented phrasing three times (as opposed to five). Occurring at the end of the body-bounce activity, it also marks an intensified phase associated with accumulative energies; the increased knee flexion developing into a sequence of small springing steps on two feet. Not surprisingly, the increased expenditure of energy required to overcome the force of gravity, produces the effect of a body accent (i.e., count on every alternate drum beat). Moreover, because the second dancer orientates his weight towards lightness, the emphasis tends to occur on the rise or 'upbeat' as opposed to the landing or 'downbeat.'

F. INTERPRETING THE DESCRIPTIVE PROFILES: THE CRITICAL DANCE REVIEW

Since an analytical concern for correlating different aspects of the dance tends to make drum dancing appear lifeless, my intention in this section is to return the focus of analysis to the dance as a moving identity, i.e., the dancer. Accordingly, I offer capsulized summaries, analogous to dance reviews, in order to distinguish the two dancers in terms of their distinctive style differences.*

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*Again, the perceptions and descriptions are derived from Laban's analytical framework.

Profile 1: A Capsule Review

Noah devises movment with a preference for an economy of space. As a result, the movement is more closely allied with the body rather than with the surrounding space; the dance concentrated in the body rather than projected away or reacting to something outside. His inclination to condense movement encourages a sense of utilizing movement with efficiency. This is shown in several ways: his body-part action stresses small gestures of the feet, torso and head. More significantly, the distance travelled on his circular path is reduced until the body appears hardly to travel at all. Indeed, the shuffle-like steps (sdw) become so small that the movement at times becomes almost imperceptible.

Fine shadings of strength characterize the step-action. Not infrequently, the energy use associated with the lower limbs indicates a neutral or low intensity rather than high. As a result, the lower limbs appear to articulate movement with a passive quality rather than through an active use of legs to support the body weight. Accordingly, the action of the legs communicates a quality of heaviness rather than of firmness; the knee-flexion emphasizes the "sink" rather than the "rise." This is particularly evident when the intensity increases in terms of pace, since the dancer manifests a lateral shifting (side-side) action rather than deriving energy upwards from the floor through a series of strong pushes.

Thus, when energy is projected it tends to radiate from the upper limbs as an extension of the drumming action. Moreover, since the opening and closing arm action does not emphasize a widening of the chest and shoulder, the sense of force remains concentrated within the shape of the forward torso and the relationship of the arms to the upper body. As a result, the upper body lability is significantly reduced. This is particularly evident in his tendency not to release the elbow of the drum arm into a pendular swing. Similarly, his beater-hand is usually thrust in a spoke-like manner, emphasizing a straight-reversal action. Accordingly, his use of direct space encourages an even flow of energy, characterized by minimal fluctuation, the attitude more bound than free.

Not infrequently, however, he momentarily suspends his concentration on his actions and moves into a rhythmical state emphasizing weight and time. His attention to these elements appears to be conscious, since he explains that when he dances "the body follows the drum ... then the head and feet follow the drum." As the body parts begin to dance more active qualities exemplifying basic efforts are stressed.

PROFILE 2: A Capsule Review

Casimir's postural movement emphasizes his tendency to invent movement with the whole body. While his Rubenesque-shaped figure seems designed to communicate a marked fluidity associated with indirect space, he also devises actions analogous to a sculpturing of space, since his movements (as well as his shape and size) encourage a sense of volume, contour, or three dimensionality.

Thus, unlike Noah, his tendency is to grow into the surrounding space. Accordingly, he creates a distinct magnification of his movement since everything is made to look larger. This is particularly evident during the non-travelling phases since frequently in this intermittent period he lengthens the torso upwards and widens the chest outwards.

His increased use of space is also apparent in the locomotor phase, during which he traces his path for an extended distance of four circles and enlarges his personal space by operating in the middle-reach space. Not surprisingly, the sense of space is augmented by a repetitive foot pattern characterized by a step actions rather than shuffling. Frequently, his use of a side-gallop makes him appear to skip through space; the step size increased to a length of a foot or more.

Moreover, because the dancer's weight integrates fully into the whole body, the step quality is impactful even when he dances on-the-spot. Sometimes, however, his weight is not only firm but light. Specifically, he often employs a resilient step action characterized by buoyant qualities. Sometimes, he achieves a quality of weightlessness.

Throughout the dance, he exhibits a high degree of energy. The intensity is particularly noticed when his attention to weight, time and flow overrides the emphasis upon space. Furthermore, his concern to integrate weight and flow into his whole body achieves not only a strong rebound quality associated with jumps and hops, but also an enhanced resonating quality associated with the good sound of the drum.*

Not infrequently, his style manifests a lyric quality, especially when the element of weight is temporarily suspended for the sake of stressing the elements of space and flow. This results in a specific increase of lability in the upper body marked by an increased shoulder mobility associated with the drum hand, an increased swing action related to the beater hand, and a general increase in the flexible use of the space. This increased use of space and flow is further emphasized when he chooses to reverse the step action to the other side. Moreover, because the small fluctuating jumps and hops are characterized by subtle weight shifts, the dominance of flow is again illustrated by indirect landings.

The Comparative Review

This brief review should make it clear that Inuit drum dance is characterized by subtle changes in which the movement intensifies and diminshes as the elements combine with other elements, the stress falling on a few movement combinations rather than an excursion through a broad range of discrete movement segments. Fundamentally, the purpose of the movement style is to convey shades of strength. Thus, even though the dance symbolically conveys the core Inuit values of strength and endurance, these qualities are not communicated in a standard manner. Instead, drum dancing is dependent upon individuals exercising choices and promoting individual style differences in which strength and endurance are communicated along different symbolic associations.

Specifically, the first dancer appeared to channel or condense the movement, promoting an economy of movement through sustained and sudden timing, a direct use of space, the weighting strong, and few fluctuations in flow. In brief, the economy of movements associates with symbolic values of individual control and achievement; the challenge of drum dancing related here to the acquisition of strength, endurance, and co-ordination.

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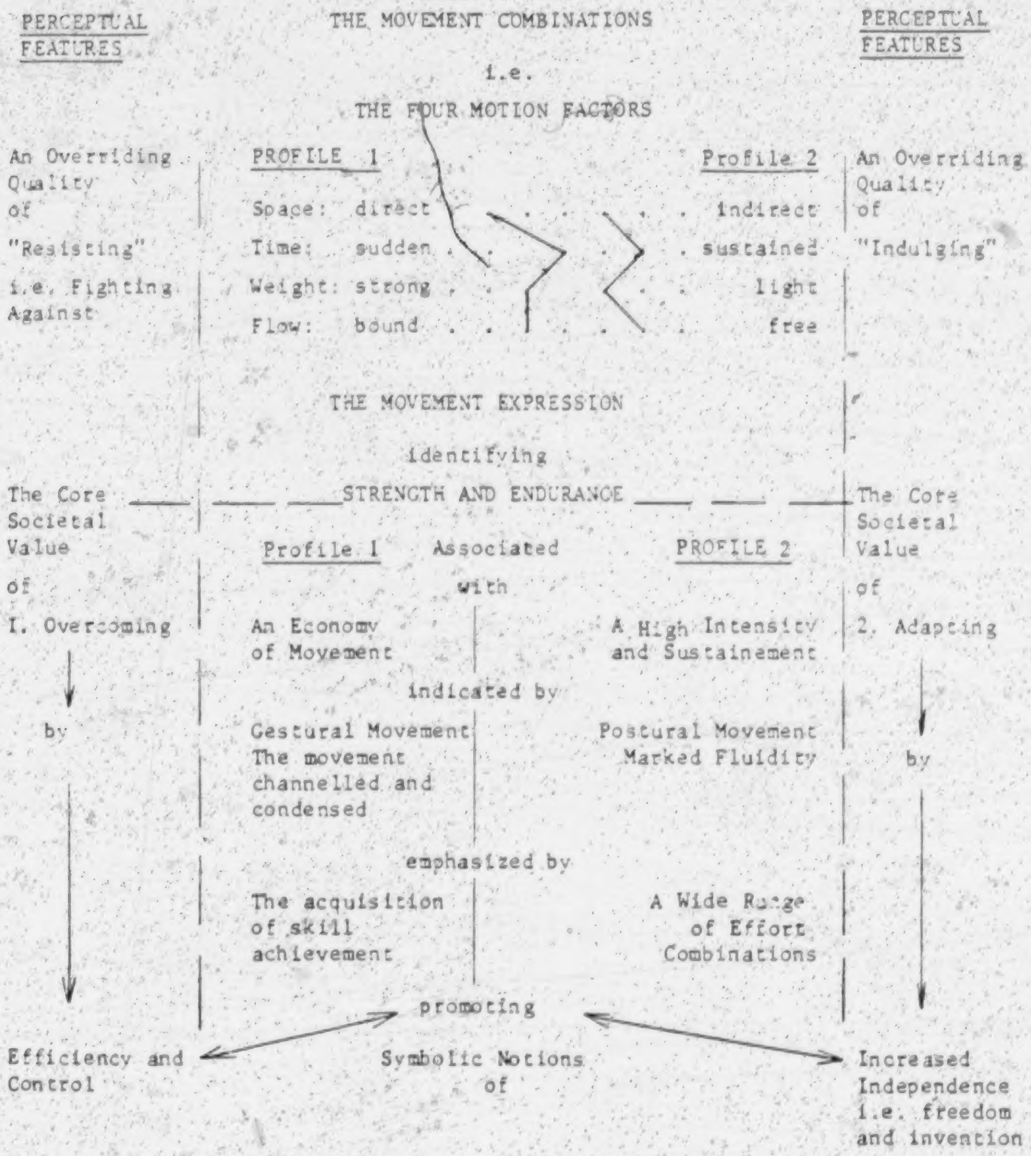
*An awareness of the requirements of the dancer to manifest a good movement quality for purposes of producing a good sound appears to be alluded to by informants who consistently relate that "good dancers need to bend their knees a lot."

On the other hand, the second dancer's movement style is marked by a distinct fluidity. This quality is derived from his ability to use space in both a direct and flexible manner, sustain the pace, orient the weight towards lightness, and stress a use of flow that is more free than bound. Accordingly, the overriding quality of indulging or free use of the Four Motion Factors encourages the notion of spontaneous adaption to new and changing situations. Moreover, because a total postural involvement as well as a wider range of effort combinations are characteristic of the second dancer's style, he appears to convey values associated with independence, self-assertion and inventiveness.

The following diagram illustrates that although Inuit drum dance always communicates the primary qualities of strength and endurance, each dancer does so differently. Indeed, in Inuit drum dance, the dancer is in control of his choices *par excellence*. This is illustrated not only because individuals invent movements but because the dancer's concern is to articulate a common motor pattern with small indiosyncratic differences. Accordingly, a premium upon experimentation is evident; the dance form symbolically conveying a societal stress upon survival.

It is this qualitative aspect of style that acts as a bridge between dance and non-dance schema. Specifically, because variants emphasizing strength and endurance are set within a limited movement vocabulary, this enables non-dance to readily escape into dance, and conversely, dance symbolically transforms into the schemas of everyday life.*

Table 20: COMPARING SIGNIFICANT STYLE VARIATIONS
Derived From
THE MOVEMENT COMBINATIONS
i.e.
THE FOUR MOTION FACTORS



PERCEPTUAL FEATURES

An Overriding Quality of "Resisting" i.e. Fighting Against

PROFILE 1	Profile 2
Space: direct	indirect
Time: sudden	sustained
Weight: strong	light
Flow: bound	free

PERCEPTUAL FEATURES

An Overriding Quality of "Indulging"

THE MOVEMENT EXPRESSION
identifying
STRENGTH AND ENDURANCE

The Core Societal Value of 1. Overcoming by

Profile 1 Associated with PROFILE 2

Profile 1		PROFILE 2
An Economy of Movement		A High Intensity and Sustainement
	indicated by	
Gestural Movement The movement channelled and condensed		Postural Movement Marked Fluidity
	emphasized by	
The acquisition of skill achievement		A Wide Range of Effort Combinations

The Core Societal Value of 2. Adapting by

promoting

Efficiency and Control

Symbolic Notions of

Increased Independence i.e. freedom and invention

---

*The significance of style is discussed in Gell's study of Shape and Meaning in Umeda Dance (Spencer 1985:183-205). He states that "what gives dance movements style and hence what separates them from non-dance movements is not their individual form, as movements, but the relationship in which they stand to (a) related non dance motor programmes, and (b) to other dance movements in the same system (1985:203).

CONCLUSION

What has taken pages to record unfolds in a few brief moments in performance. The advantage of Labanalysis resides in its power to reveal features of Inuit drum dance that cannot be observed in the fleeting instant. Furthermore, although notation scores clarify information concerning the relationship between sound and movement, the dancer's path in space, the specific actions of the upper and lower body, and the crucial dynamic qualities characteristic of the dance, it is obvious that this interpretation is achieved only by those who can read the score.

However, a focus upon the descriptive profiles emphasizes the performer's role in synthesizing all the material we have analyzed. Specifically, by placing two individuals within a performance context we are able to perceive how the normative ideals of Inuit drum dance are reinforced, varied, and adapted; the performance not only informed by content, but animated by meaning through a decision-making process.

In other words, this chapter clarifies that there is a distinction between the impression and the illusion of movement. While the latter can be evoked, the former can only be conveyed by the dancer's conscious manipulation of the movement code in accordance with his being privy to both a movement code and the rule of social context.

Also, the profiles have clarified that repetitive movement signals the importance of individual style. Indeed, it is this demand for variation both within a consistent dance form and an egalitarian social system that gives Inuit drum dance its unique and characteristic meaning.

In brief, this chapter is not about great events, great performers, or indeed, about some ideal criteria capable of describing greatness. Rather, it is about the concrete effects of individual performers translating and creating meaning in the context of all that has gone, and all that will go before them.

COMMISSIONED DRUM DANCE - FALL 1986
by Professor Tanimoto of Hokkaido, Japan

Plate 40. a-n. PROFILE 1. Drum Dancer Noah Piuqaatuq of Igloolik

a

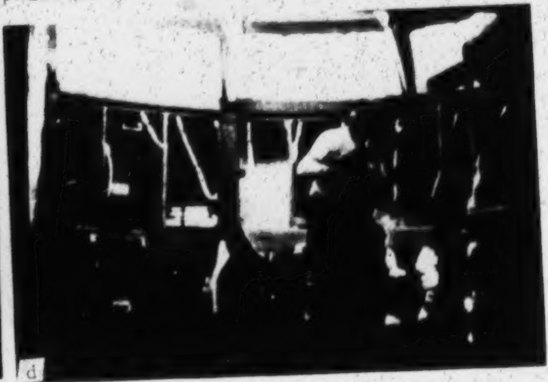
The drum dancer waits for the singers to begin the aijai song.

b

The body is held overt in the warm-up phase as the near rim is tapped.

c

The passive support is exchanged for an active stance; the increased intensity indicates the dancer's intent to move into the dance. This dancer's lateral weight transfers are in one direction only (cl.w.). The phrasing is characterized as impulsive.


d

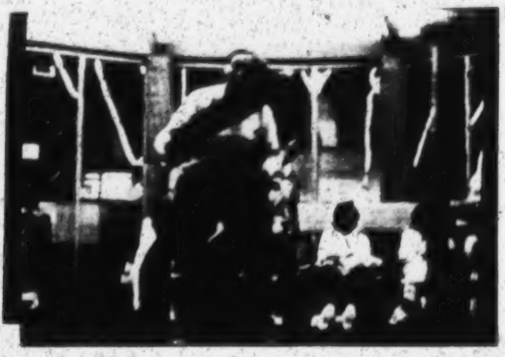
The drum dancer's style conveys a sense of efficiency and control. This is exemplified by his tendency to utilize near space and bound-flow.

e

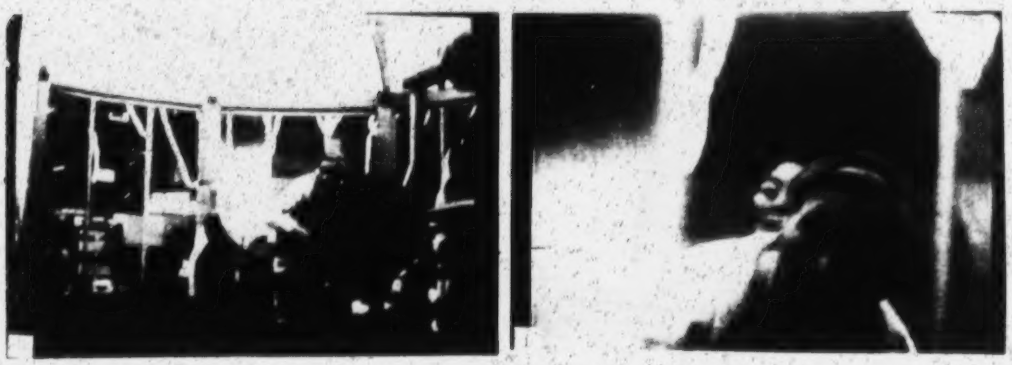
The tilted head gesture left echoes the impulsive phrasing of decreasing intensity associated with the feet.

f

The drum dancer has chosen to intensify his energy by quickening time in a transitional jig-like step.



Characteristically, the drum dancer begins the non-travelling [illegible] with a body-bounce activity. The dynamic phrasing associates with increasing and decreasing intensity.



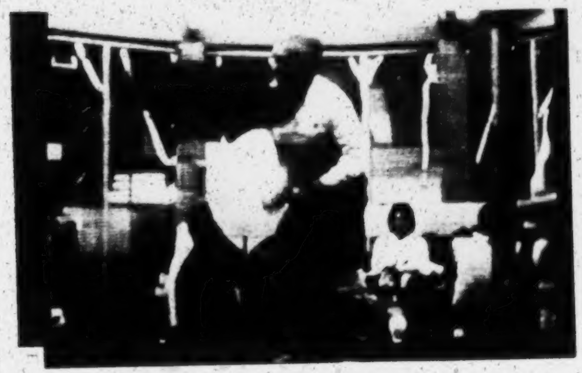
Even when dancing on-the-spot, few fluctuations in flow are evident. This is stressed by the dancer holding the head in a tilted position.

The drum dancer illustrates his tendency to get smaller. Accordingly, a concave shape of the body is stressed.

The drum dancer returns his body to the normal forward lean position. However, even if he extends his torso to an upright position, this dancer retains the drumhead in the horizontal plane.

Plate 40 (cont'd)

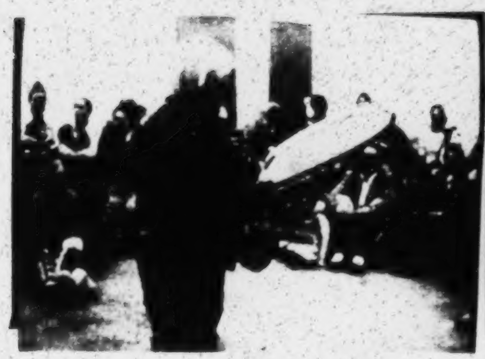
For this dancer the use of an upright torso position signals the beginning of a recuperative phrase associated with side-side weight transfers on-the-spot, i.e., jog-step. An intensification of energy follows since the pace of the jog-step quickens. A resilient type of phrasing is evident.



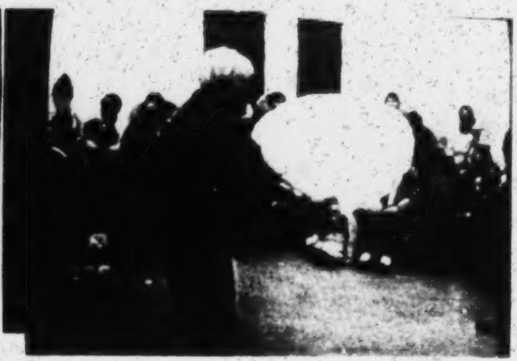
The dancer exchanges lateral weight transfers cl.w. for small sideways jumps in the same direction. Despite the variations in step pattern, the combinations are characterized by a weighty, heavy quality.

The dancer abruptly finishes his dance. The sudden halt is dramatically evidenced since it occurs after the quickened pace of a jog-step.

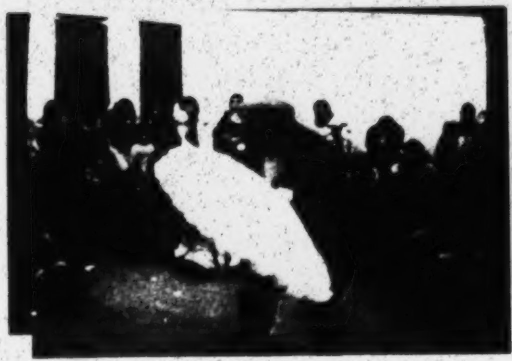
Plate [illegible] Drum Dancer Casimir Natarqunik of Eskimo Point,
Hall Beach Elders Conference, Spring 1985



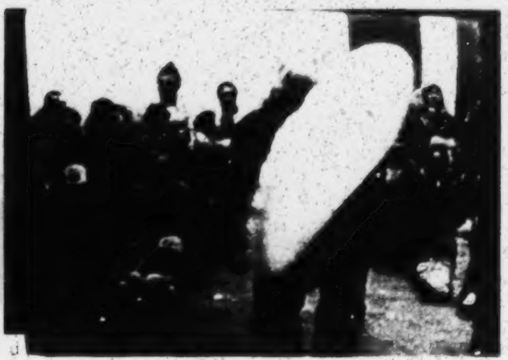
The dancer warms to the drum by tapping the near rim and swaying sideways with slight body weight shifts.



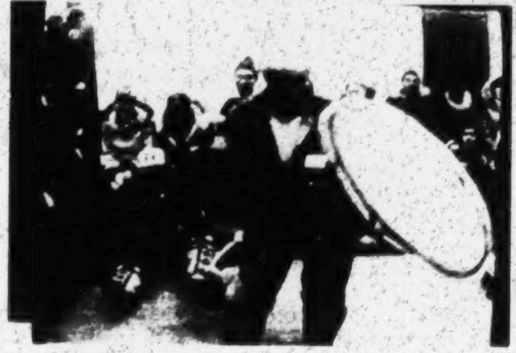
A duple pulse is established as the beater hand contacts both opposite far and near rim. The dancer's whole body weight shifts.



Moving into the dance, the dancer employs lateral weight transfers to travel clockwise.

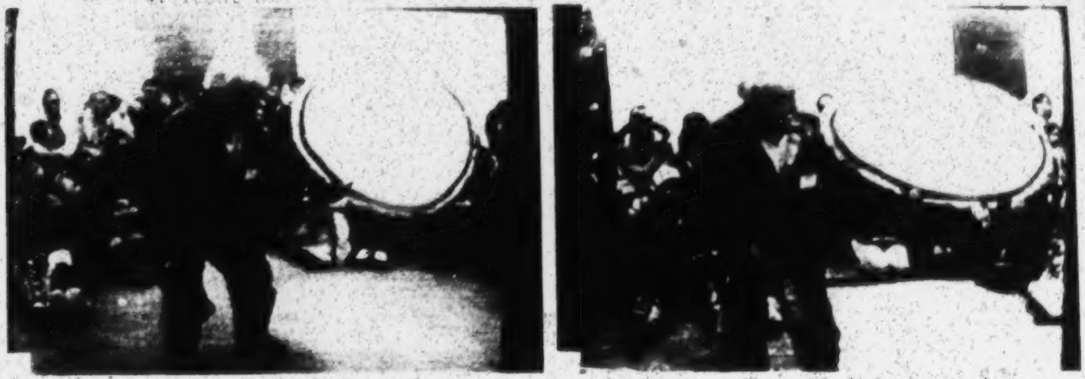


A weight-hold emphasizes a postural stance while the weight is fully integrated into the whole body.



Dancing relatively on-the-spot, the drum dancer steps to either side with lateral weight transfers. A rhythmic weight hold on the left foot is evident.

Plate .1 (cont'd)



The drum dancer's use of (personal) space is increased to the 'middle-far' reach space.

Enjoying the duple beat with the stationary body-bounce activity. The dynamic phrasing is indicated with increasing and decreasing intensity.

This dancer tends to characterize the body-bounce activity by stressing the elements of weight, time and flow.

The drum dancer signals an increase of intensity with the gesture of increasing the forward torso lean.

[illegible] (con't)

The drum dancer illustrates his tendency to get larger. Following the body-bounce activity the torso is raised into an upright position.

The dancer's shout accompanies the action of raising the drum head into the vertical plane.

The use of continual head gestures emphasize this dancer's tendency to increase the element of flow.

The action of increasing the forward lean is accompanied by lowering the drumhead.

The drum dancer's style stresses an increased mobility in the upper torso unit.

Plate 41 (cont'd)

Here the drum dancer's weight is characterized by a buoyant quality. Accordingly, a series of small jumps, (assemblé) and hops, articulate a resilient type phrasing.

As the drum dancer repeats the locomotor phase of travelling in a single direction, (clockwise) the element of flow is reduced. Sometimes this dancer's relatively wide step is increased even further with side-gallop steps. The uneven rhythm is associated with impactive phrasing.

The song/dance performance abruptly ends with a happy dancer and an appreciative audience.

PART V

THE ANALYTICAL CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

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A. THE ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Admittedly, my analytical explanation of the strands that make up the unique phenomenon of Inuit drum dance has been a long and complex task, due in equal parts to the complexity of the subject, the importance of historical traditions, and a methodology that proposes an interrelated approach. My three-step analytical model, adopted from the ethnomusicologist R. Qureshi, demonstrates the assumption that dance does not emerge from a vacuum, but from both an inherited movement and socio-cultural code, and from the efforts of actors who individually operationalize these normative structures in performance events. Still, at the conclusion of this analytical expectation, it is proper to look back and examine the validity of its basic assumptions and procedures, and evaluate its actual results.

To begin with, my first assumption that drum dance articulates a specific ideology which is built into the movement structure itself meant that I had to pay close attention to how the repertoire is distinct in terms of the elements of the body, space and time. Repeated observations and practice of the movement code enabled me to apprehend the dynamic nature and flexible structure of the genre and present a referential framework of shared movement norms and performance options (see Tables 5, 6, and 9 in Part II, Chapters II and III).

Similarly, my second assumption that drum dancing articulates an Inuit social reality meant that I was required to extend my inquiry into the socio-cultural dimension. The resultant ethnographic discussion firmly demonstrated that drum dance events represent an institutionalized arrangement, the conventional behavior and inherent values consistent with other aspects of Inuit life. I found that the programming of movement is therefore rooted not only upon an established movement form, but also upon an inherited social structure (discussed earlier; Part III, Chapters IV and V; see Tables 15, 16, and 17) identifying the minimal and core setting factors.

Finally, my inclusion of an analysis of the performance dimension was demanded by my third assumption, namely, that the drum dance event effectively synthesizes these two separate contextual dimensions. Thus, with a referential grid in place, I was able to focus upon the performer and his role as a translator of structural meaning into the world of concrete experience (Part IV). Accordingly, my presentation of descriptive profiles makes it clear that what endows the performance with meaning is the performer's work as a mediator and decision-maker. In other words, it is this subjective experience derived from self-assertion and the ongoing process of making choices that determines in part the semantic content of the dance. (See Profiles 1 and 2).

Obviously, the resultant analytical separation is artificial. However, it is also both unavoidable due to these distinct, and even contrasting frameworks, and necessary since without these distinctions the full complexities of the semantic content cannot be holistically perceived. A focus upon the first dimension has revealed that the informal movement structure and the dynamic interweaving of body, song, and drum, are not random elements but rather integral aspects of Inuit ideology. From analysis of the second dimension it is obvious that drum dance behavior produces meaning outside of itself. This is why, in what is essentially a study of drum dancing, I have dealt so extensively with Inuit social, political, economic and religious concerns. My conclusions here are straightforward: drum dance behavior is informed by a full array of traditional social meanings. Indeed, because the drum dance is permeated with social meaning at all levels, successful drum dance communication requires that participants be aware of both a relational meaning derived from a prescribed movement structure and a referential meaning received from an established social structure.

The third dimension of analysis represents the performance event. Specifically, it identifies a special type of social interaction where individuals make meaning by manipulating traditional structures, both ideological and social. Clearly, meaning here is viewed as an immediate process in which the norms are varied for purposes of manifesting an intensity of feeling and quality of experience; the effect analogous to producing socially relevant meaning.

While it is evident that performance behavior re-affirms traditional structures, it is also apparent that the same behavior concurrently operates as a catalyst for change since acts of assertion encourage individuals to transcend the confines of traditional structure. In brief, the drum dance event is also a special kind of adaptive mechanism. Specifically, because the decision-making promotes mediation, bridges between the old and the new enable valuable insights to accrue.

Moreover, the communication is particularly effective because it is non-verbal. While other forms of play embody sentience and rational thought, and the body activity also promotes increased social interaction, the special virtue of dance and music is its power to endow everyday consciousness with an imaginative domain. It is this heightened sense of unification and belonging that endows a spiritual dimension to the dance, the expanded consciousness frequently inspiring informants to relate feelings of being "at peace with oneself" or "everything is at one."

B. GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

It has been established, both from the ethnographic discussion of the cultural context and the conventional notational analysis of performances, that there is no such thing as an essential or definitive Inuit drum dance style. Instead, the movement style is perceived as the sum total of its individual manifestations. My identification of collective norms, therefore, also recognizes that normative structures in Canadian Inuit society are not strictly preserved by a central institutional authority, but rather reflect an alternative form of social organization based on spontaneous negotiations, pacts and individual expertise. As a result, drum dance celebrations are characterized by the relative absence of formal rules and procedures typically synonymous with ceremonial dance.*

Since Inuit society is constituted by nuclear families living in small groups** and their kinship system represents a highly flexible and adaptive social organization, it is not surprising that the individual is pushed to the forefront; the dance exemplified by a solo dancer. Moreover, because every performance is different and unpredictable the dance-maker is required to intuitively assess an entire constellation of factors on the spot. As such, the dancer's spontaneous movement resembles the aspects of a hunter's life and exemplifies the same state of receptivity and vigilant understanding of what is happening around him. Furthermore, this ability to improvise is held in high esteem since in the Arctic survival frequently depends on the individual's ability to innovate. Accordingly, the dancer's reputation is determined in large measure by his ability to generate a personal, innovative style.

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*This is contrasted to other hunter societies (such as those in Alaska, Siberia, and Northern British Columbia) where social permanence encourages individual rites of passage and institutionlized ceremonies.

**The entire Canadian Inuit population is estimated at approximately 24,000 people, living in small communities (Brody 1982:33). The population of these communities ranges from 300 to slightly over 1000.

Although a dancer is recognized in accordance with his ability to demonstrate skill and to produce a personal style, what appears to be also valued is the sheer enjoyment of dancing. Thus, the individual can achieve special status simply by choosing to employ the medium of movement as a unique way of knowing about oneself and the world. The awareness that movement exemplifies a kinesthetic intelligence is alluded to by informants who explain the meaning of drum dancing in terms of "saying something about yourself and your family," "expressing happiness," "sharing joy," or generally celebrating the "way things are." These statements reflect how the movement code is manipulated both for purposes of individual creation as well as an attempt to involve the self in a world of others. Specifically, it is this communal cultural context that enables the self to be given over, the performance a powerful communication's tool since it imposes a particular kind of responsibility, frequently expressed by elders as caring. As the noted anthropologist Geertz (1973:82) reminds us "in order to make up our minds we must know how we feel about things; and to know how we feel about things, we need the public images of sentiment that only ritual, myth and art can provide." Accordingly, successful drum dance is dependent upon participants who know what they are singing and dancing about; the song/dance enjoyed because the medium enables traditional public images to be evoked.

Specifically, in Inuit drum dance the dancer's responsibility is to articulate an Inuit ethos, the drum dancer striving to strengthen the intimate human bonds that knit the community together rather than any attempt to communicate abstract rational concepts of social context.* This fidelity to accessing personal feelings is evidenced not only by the confessional nature of the songs but also by the dancer's demeanor; the open manner of characterizing appearance as direct and honest. The absence of a persona and other masking devices is exemplified in two ways: (1) during the preliminary warm-up phase the drum dancer adopts an almost exaggerated modest stance, and (2) in the course of the dance he will utter personal yells or breath-shouts that acoustically represent the utmost possible personal expression or "giving over" of the self. The presence and quality of these shouts, according to informants, distinguishes the good dancer from the shy or withdrawn dancer.

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*See Royce (1977:195-196) for a discussion of dance communicating both cognitive and affective kinds of information.

Like his counterparts in other small-scale societies, the drum dancer recognizes that shared norms are collective property. As a result personal innovations are possible only within a fairly limited movement range. This limitation is especially pronounced in Inuit society where traditionally the dancer practiced only one dance form. Thus, in contrast to complex societies where a pluralistic system of conflicting values allows dancers not only to increase their decision-making roles within a particular genre but also to change the genre and thereby challenge or reinforce core social values belonging to a particular group, the Inuit drum dancer is bound by sacrosanct genre rules that duplicate the deepest traditional values of his people. Violating these rules then is tantamount to cultural suicide. So, the drum dancer is always careful to subordinate the "individually desired" to the "culturally desirable."*

Accordingly, the drum dancer perceives that the satisfaction derived from drum dancing rests largely upon the creation of a dual structure; the structure of the drum dance event mirroring the traditional Inuit structure. In order to understand how the meaning of the drum dance links not only to an identity function that conveys an immediate social use, organizational features associated with sex roles, seniority status and spatial division (see Part III, Chapter IV), an exegesis of the drum dance event extends further to consider a relational system of equivalences* that asserts itself in terms of core societal values.

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*The terms are borrowed from Margaret Lantis (1959:44).

C. CORE VALUES AND CONCEPTS

The Principle of Co-operative Individualism

In general, the decision concerning when, where, and how to stage a drum dance performance is part of a general decision-making procedure dependent upon the free will of individuals. The flexibility apparent in the structure of drum dance reflects a social flexibility based upon co-operative and harmonious relations among essentially independent individuals. Thus, although there is no rigid organizational system in the dance, all participants understand that the event is being manifested in accordance with the cultural habit of individuals deciding for themselves and within an overall collective will. Moreover, because the collective imperative is often expressed in the communal wish that all members of the community might succeed and gain confidence in all their endeavors, the drum dance event is not only a celebration of the individual, but, more accurately, a homage to the potential in everyone. This is most obviously expressed in the procedure of "taking turns."

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*The concept implies a functional equivalence. It is therefore assumed that society has certain chronic needs. "If one structure does not satisfy them, another will" (J. Wilson 1983:68).

The power of the drum dance derives from this communal duty to foster the development of individuals.* The corresponding duty of the individual dancer is to manifest these underlying principles of co-operative individualism in a number of concrete ways. He obviously demonstrates the principle of individualism in his solo dance and his engagement in self-testing skills which emphasize rhythmic co-ordination, strength, and endurance. But beneath the surface of this display he also tests and affirms the fundamental principle of co-operation in a number of subtle ways. Since the desired sense of community can be achieved only if individuals consent to participate, the dancer will not occupy the core space for "too long" a time. Neither will participants permit an excessively long interim period between turns. Also, apparently, the procedural order is guided by notions of fair play, since the drum dancer always follows a near-equal opponent rather than attempting to look good by contrasting his abilities against a less skilled opponent.

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*For a theoretical understanding of co-operative individualism see M. Mead (1937:506-511) and D. Lee (1959).

In addition, co-operation is tested at a more structural level. The dance is actually dependent on a number of critical social exchanges that are built into the event itself.* Aside from the practice of taking turns, the event features four other conspicuous collaborations; (1) the agreement between the singer and dancer to establish a song/dance partnership, (2) the informal opening which encourages reciprocity between performers and audience, (3) the agreement between dancers to give one's place to another if a participant steps into the performance space before he/she is finished, and (4) the spontaneous exchanges between the dancer and singer that constitute an improvised song/dance performance. This latter collaboration is also a source of competition since it is grounded in a dramatic tension derived from a playful challenge or tug-of-war in which both singers and dancer learn to assert and then give over the rhythmic leadership at appropriate moments.

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*The anthropologist M. Asch (1988:94) similarly notes in order for Dene drum dance to proceed a number of co-operative features must occur.

The Principle of Egalitarian Individualism

Closely allied to co-operative individualism is the principle of equality. As a general rule, although individuals assert their own leadership based upon their particular levels of skill and expertise, there are no star performers. The movement code is also in principle democratic; the genre characterized by ordinary everyday movements, the actions voluntary/spontaneous and performed by both young and old.

Still, for participants equality does have a double edge. Specifically, what is value-ful about equality is the recognition of individual differences. Accordingly, performances are judged favorably when individuals display distinctive differences. Specifically, although every drum dancer affirms the Inuit belief that "everyone is equally human and properly entitled to their own way of life" (Brody 1987:11), successful drum dancers must strive to manipulate the movement code to display their own embroidered details marking individual creativity. Thus, it is not enough for him simply to engage in an improvised dance and display strength and endurance. Rather, the implicit cultural premium upon experimentation demands that the dancer learn to develop and exhibit a personally-owned style; the innovations in style a direct result of this attention to detail.

Accordingly, secondary features of the dance are regarded as the most prominent characteristics.* In other words, drum dancing visualizes the paradox of the principle of egalitarian individualism since it is a rule-governed form that implicitly prizes the individual who can bend the rules and open the form.

As a result of this attention to precise details, we can speculate that the meaning of the dance is partially derived from idiosyncratic psychological factors; the significance of the dance related to a general cultural interest in reading the highly laden domain of the body. Thus an interest in the dancer's movement traits reflects the hunter's interest in minute observation and spontaneous analysis. Accordingly, the movement qualities of the good drum dancer may be perceived as congruent with displaying desired Inuit traits; the successful dancer conveying traits of honesty, patience, modesty, and self-reliance.

Complementary to an understanding of egalitarian individualism is the awareness, that although all successful drum dancers must exhibit strength and endurance, the dancer simultaneously tests a subtle range

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*Similarly, in the Inuktituk language, although there are some genric terms such as "marine mammals" (*puijiit*) or "song bird" (*qopanoak*), the speaker generally identifies a particular species within this collective classification.

of individual effort qualities. Accordingly, the drum dancer conveys both a general skill level associated with strength as well as a more specific level of expertise associated with varied effort qualities. Thus, taken together, the dancer's activity conveys a sense of physical/mental agility; the dance associated with a game-like quality.

However, the two core values combined represent an overriding principle of reciprocity. Moreover, the game-like quality indicates a continuum that promotes drum dancing as a test of skill and/or a form of spontaneous play associated with a process of individual mediation and decision making. In brief, the performer's premise orientates towards a contest of rivalry or activity engaged in for its own sake.* The relationship of drum dancing to a play/game continuum is alluded to by an Iglulik Inuit who explained to Rasmussen (1929:250) "that those who know how to play can easily leap over the adverse areas of life and one who can sing and laugh never brews mischief."

D. UNDERSTANDING CONTEMPORARY DRUM DANCE EVENTS

Considering that the Inuit are today a thoroughly modern people, it would be surprising if the traditional purpose of drum dance event had not also altered. In fact, the changes are several and wide ranging. For example, drum dance events today obviously do not provide the following social functions: (1) a survival support system through extended kinship ties, (2) competitive contests that served as judiciary courts of appeal, or (3) the pyscho-drama associated with traditional religio-magico function. The difficulty of achieving syncretism* is particularly evident when we realize that Inuit drum dance is, depending on the specific region, perilously close to extinction. Thus, what was once a viable flourishing practice, common throughout the Arctic has become in part an anomaly or, indeed, in some areas, an anachronism.

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*The dance anthropologist Royce (1984:25) points out that it is not accidental that many languages use 'player' for those who perform.

As a result, modern Inuit culture and its traditional forms abide in a state of not so peaceful co-existence. Indeed, the modern cultural context is cognitively dissonant from traditional values and concepts. As succinctly expressed by the anthropologist Brody (1987:229), in modern Inuit society "egalitarianism is opposed to hierarchy, subtlety to simplification, and community to centralized power." Not surprisingly therefore many Inuit feel alienated from their heritage. As a result, in many communities the drum dance event is met with ambiguous feelings, This is especially true in communities where participation has been increasingly monopolized by a few specialists and curious outsiders, and has been effectively removed from the traditional context of community control.

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* Understood as a "composite blend of two alien forms that is acceptable to the host culture" (J. Kealiinohomoku 1979:51). The developmental process indicates an adaptation to a supplementary or complementary form.

On the other hand, in some communities performers are becoming increasingly aware that continuing to hold drum dance events constitutes an affirmative attempt to protect and realize themselves as members of a distinct culture. Thus, the paradox of contemporary drum dance is that although drum dance is not viable through syncretism, it is made viable by deliberate attempts to re-interpret an Inuit way of life. In other words, the contemporary drum dance lives because an Inuit identity is being metamorphized.* Accordingly, the drum dance is perceived as a heritage that transcends changing social conditions.

From the performer's perspective, the most pressing contemporary concern is that a satisfactory re-interpretation of traditional values be achieved. In concrete terms, this means that the genre rules are strictly adhered to. The fact that the drum dance form does not reflect new needs and functions does not imply that the drum dance is not adapted to changing social contexts. Quite the contrary! Obviously, authentic performance conditions associated with space, dress, lighting, and acoustics have altered. As well, innovative experiments in role reversals, and even the recent avant-garde innovation by elders in Igloolik of having two dancers simultaneously moving in the centre space to the same song* have also altered performer expectations. However, although modern influences have led to changes in the text and the melody of the song, few if any changes in the traditional pattern of movement have occurred. Thus, the front-body facing to center, the generation of curved and/or circular path, the establishment of a moderate-slow duple pulse, the continuous/durational rhythm, and the repetitive step pattern emphasizing lateral weight transfers, remain as non-negotiable features identifying Inuit drum dance form.

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*The concept of metamorphosis is derived from the anthropologist J. Maquet (1979) who distinguishes "art by destination" from a later category of "art by metamorphosis." For a further understanding of cultural change upon the dance form, see J. Kealiinomoku's article, "Functional and Dysfunctional Expressions of Dance" (1979: 47-63) as illustrated in Balinese and Hawaiian dance.

Perhaps the only modification in the movement code today is due to drum dancers dancing in modern heeled footwear. During my fieldwork I observed that the conventional method of travelling with lateral weight transfers was sometimes altered by young dancers for a manner of travelling sideways on double supports with a swivel-type action. I attribute this to an increased heel leverage that allows for an easy progression in a sideways direction; a progression that was traditionally not used, or used only infrequently in the non-travelling phase.

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*See Igloolik IBC tape - Qilaut II.

Unfortunately, a re-interpretation of traditional dance forms is frequently dismissed by some anthropologists as a nostalgic attempt to reclaim a past cultural identity. Such critics view the purpose of drum dancing as a product, the efficacy linked to a temporary state of increased social solidarity rather than perceiving the role of song/dance as a process of mediating and decision-making that ensures a continuity between past and present. The latter implies a notion of cultural identity derived from individuals demonstrating their creative potential; the drum dance a vehicle for demonstrating intellectual, aesthetic and physical capabilities.

The anthropologist M. Asch (1988:97), for example, asserts that while Dene drum dance "fends off the negative impact of imposed change only for a time" in so doing it simply postpones "confronting the external forces of change and negotiating with them on basic economic, social and political matters." The difficulty of accepting such an argument is the unfounded but apparently undying assumption that since song/dance is non-verbal it is also irrational. The implication that the acquisition of knowledge, and the transmission of the knowledge can only be in words, means that song/dance expression is interpreted as a form of meaningless play which should be put aside, (especially as we get older), because it does not accomplish serious business. As stated earlier, this extreme functionalist position places unwarranted emphasis upon product and solution, rather than recognizing the significance of the intrinsic process concerned with the assimilation of information and the recreation of images that are value-ful. Indeed, cultural achievement is dependent upon this latter influence of affective culture manifested through play and ritual.

Thus, although it must be recognized that drum dance events no longer mirror a context of social functions, it should also be remembered, in words of the ethnomusicologist Blacking (1979:4), that in the process of making song dance the process also makes the man; "the conscious decision-making ... releasing creative energy, expanding consciousness and influencing subsequent decision-making and cultural invention." It is this latter understanding that will ultimately prevent the drum dance from being generated simply for the tourist trade, or regarded as a quaint and curious relic from the past.

In order to meet the enormous challenges that have resulted from sudden culture change it seems imperative that all vehicles of Inuit expression promoting self-discovery, confidence, courage, and commitment should be utilized. These are the creative forces that operated within ancestral traditions and will today continue to ensure the Inuit right to self-determination as a distinct people.

Still, despite my own convictions concerning the potential of the drum dance to act as a re-vitalizing force, I also recognize that it is not my prerogative to encourage the Inuit to keep up traditional practices if they do not wish to. However, since it is no secret that when cultures lose their song/dance traditions, particularly in areas where there has been dramatic cultural change, the disappearance of traditional values is likely not inevitable. My concern, therefore, is that the decision to maintain or dismiss these values should be the conscious choice of indigenous peoples rather than a condition imposed by the external powers that be. While in some Northern communities CBC radio has promoted the transmission of traditional songs by offering prizes to singers, and drum dancing has been encouraged in classes at various education centres and gatherings of elders, more permanent educational and cultural structures need to be established to close the cultural lag. It is therefore my hope that the gathering of this material may serve to encourage (1) the contemplation of an Inuit heritage, (2) an appreciative awareness of the differences that exist between our cultures through study of the drum dance, and (3) the desire for Inuit who love dance and song to continue expressing themselves in both old and new dance forms.

E. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD

Traditionally (as stated earlier, see Part I, Chapter I), dance anthropologists have generally tended to study dance as a function of the socio-cultural context, the dance equated with explicit social use. More recently, the latest works of Hanna and Royce have contributed interesting and informative perspectives by describing how people communicate ideas through the dance.* Still, however, these approaches do not propose a method of conceptualizing that identifies and investigates the different assumptions, problems and possible solutions facing dance researchers. Accordingly, a discipline-based approach that asks the important and researchable questions has remained lacking from the field.

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* See Hanna's The Performer Audience Connection: Emotion to Metaphor in Dance and Society (1983), Dance, Sex and Gender (1988), and Royce's distinction between ballet and Mime in Movement and Meaning (1984).

The significance of this study is that it addresses this situation by providing a conceptual apparatus to work out an appropriate marriage between dance and culture. In brief, the unifying framework and step by step procedure serves as a promising roadmap to establish a research tradition. I argue that the proposed model successfully interweaves different facts and different approaches while at the same time it is sufficiently systematic and culturally sensitive.

Specifically, the flexibility of this model has been demonstrated since I have delved deeply into the historic dimension, presented positivistic structures, engaged in functional analysis, and explored environmental influences upon the seasonal nature of the traditional drum dance event. On the other hand, I have complemented analysis with informant comments, used song texts to introduce an Inuit literary perspective, written my own experiential accounts of the drum dance event, employed movement analysis to review style differences that characterize two distinct drum dancers, and even suggested movement signification in terms of symbolic action. In brief, the methodology is exemplary of a tolerant approach; the model not pschologically exclusive.

However, the advantage of this model is not simply its open framework. Rather its uniqueness relates to its ability to systematically embody three different kinds of underlying structures. As a result, dance is explained as a social phenomenon that provides three different kinds of social information. Specifically, the relevant structures provide the (1) positivistic position of revealing basic laws, (2) the idealistic perception of human agents operating in accordance with reason and motives, and (3) the realist understanding that a phenomenon is not simply determined in accordance with regularities or voluntarily assumed as a result of fulfilling certain cognitive imperatives, but rather as a mechanism that is causally generated; the phenomenon a response to participants making new meaning. Thus, the individuals "in their conscious activity ... unconsciously reproduce the social structure which seems to govern them" (J. Wilson, 1983:9).

Accordingly, it is this latter dynamic structure synonymous with performance structure that enables new insights in dance study. In brief, the preliminary descriptions and classifications do not simply remain theoretical, but are operationalized into practice. Specifically, by focusing upon the movement as well as its social context, the established norms provide a referential grid for understanding how contextual variables are incorporated into the performance process. Thus, the inclusion of a performance dimension makes it possible to demonstrate how the dance is distinctly different each time it is performed. Because this variability can be linked to both the movement and the cultural context, it is possible to focus upon the performer's dual role as dancer and interpreter. Indeed, as I have demonstrated in the performance profiles, what governs the variability in performance is ultimately dependent upon the performer's specific selection and correlation of context variables. As such, performance analysis can be perceived as a culturally sanctioned process of translation.

Given this augmented definition of performance, it becomes clear that dance meaning relates both to its own aesthetic structure and the structure of its social context. Specifically, the semantic content of the dance can be charted by concrete points of reference which identify the variability between the cognitive/ideal occasion and the actual/real event. Thus, the presentation of descriptive profiles enables us to understand and describe how movement and meaning are simultaneously articulated in the performance process. In short, a focus on the performance process offers the dance ethnologist the opportunity to consider the complex interweaving of dance and dancing. This is the concern that is posed by Yeates in his famous rhetorical question: "Oh body, swayed to music, oh, quickening dance, how can we tell the dancer from the dance?"

Although arcane meanings are inherent to the nature of dance study, the use of Qureshi's model has enabled me to respond to Hanna's practical wish to understand "why and how dance can do what we argue it does" (1986:771). In short, by identifying the importance of interfacing structures, the effects of these structures can be perceived. Thus, although preliminary structures served to illustrate how the drum dance mirrors the conventional context, the final spotlight on the performer makes clear that the individual essentially operationalizes and controls these situations. Accordingly, the goal of the dancer is not simply to communicate social conventions but rather to make commentaries that affirm, deny or moderate their acceptance. As such the drum dancer tests the heartbeat of Inuit society; the power of drum dancing dependent upon the fusion of a personal and communal ethos.

In conclusion, the drum dancer dances both a history and a dream. Indeed, it is this systematic search for structure that enables drum dancing to be critically described, explained and interpreted. Specifically, this step takes a critical step forward in substantiating Hanna's (1988:40) wide sweeping claim that the roots of "ritual dance lie in our bodies, brains, environmental, cultural tradition and social processes ... and that the range of intentions and functions of dance ritual encompasses the spectrum of human life." In brief, I believe that in addressing the cultural meaning of both dance and dancing, Isadora's dilemma, "if I could tell you what it meant there would be no point in dancing," has been partially resolved. This study, therefore, both elucidates and describes. It probes closer to the heart of dancing by isolating what sorts of meaning are to be found rather than simply charting its extent.

Figure 17. EXPLICIT FEATURES OF

COOPERATIVE - INDIVIDUALISM IN INUIT DRUM DANCE

1. No rigid organizational system

The event manifested in accordance with

- the cultural habit of individuals deciding for themselves, and
- the communal wish that all members of the community might succeed and gain confidence in their endeavors

2. The Procedural Format of "Taking Turns"

COOPERATION stressed by	INDIVIDUALISM stressed by
- not occupying core space for "too long"	- consenting to participate i.e. willingness
- a relatively brief interim period	- self-testing skills identifying rhythmic co-ordination, strength and endurance
- a procedural order guided by notions of fair play	- promoting individual creativity with the traditional prerequisite of the dancer/choreographer being a composer/poet

A CELEBRATION OF THE INUIT INDIVIDUAL: STRESSING THE POTENTIAL OF EVERY MAN

Figure 18. IMPLICIT FEATURES OF COOPERATIVE - INDIVIDUALISM IN INUIT DRUM DANCE

Required Social Exchanges

1. The agreement between dancer and singer to establish a partnership

2. The formal opening that stresses reciprocity between performers and audience members

3. The agreement between dancers to give one's place to another if a spectator steps into the performance space

4. The spontaneous exchanges that constitute an improvised song/dance performance

A CELEBRATION OF THE INUIT INDIVIDUAL: STRESSING THE POTENTIAL OF EVERY MAN

Figure 19 COOPERATIVE - EGALITARIANISM IN INUIT DRUM DANCE

EXPLICIT FEATURES

=

1. No star performers

2. The Movement Code synonymous with
   - ordinary everyday movements
   - the actions spontaneous/voluntary
   - performed by young and old

EQUALITY

=

The Movement Code embroidered with individual detail (The secondary style characteristics are therefore primary)

IMPLICIT FEATURES

=

A System of Functional Equivalences

- a premium upon experimentation mandated by survival
- the hunter's kinesthetic intelligence stressing minute observation and spontaneous analysis
- the desired Inuit traits of honesty, patience, modesty and self-reliance analogous to the adopted stance of the good dancer
- the dance associated with a game-like situation analogous to a continuum of physical skill and/or spontaneous play

"And when we cease all our explorations we shall arrive back where we started, and know the place for the first time."

T. S. Elliot
Paraphrased from
Four Quartets

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

MAPS

1. Contemporary Settlement Locations and Historic Inuit Occupations. From B. Driscoll, 1980:16 after R. McGhee 1978:104.

2. Canadian Inuit Groups and Subgroups. From *The Spirit Sings* 1987:172-173

3. Canadian Northern Peoples as Identified by Anthropologists. From Brody 1987:26

4. Contemporary Towns and Villages of the Canadian North. From Brody 1987:30.

5. 1903 Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts and Missions. From Jenness 1964:19.

6. 1921 Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts and Missions. From Jenness 1964:24.

7. 1929 Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts and Missions. From Jenness 1964:37.

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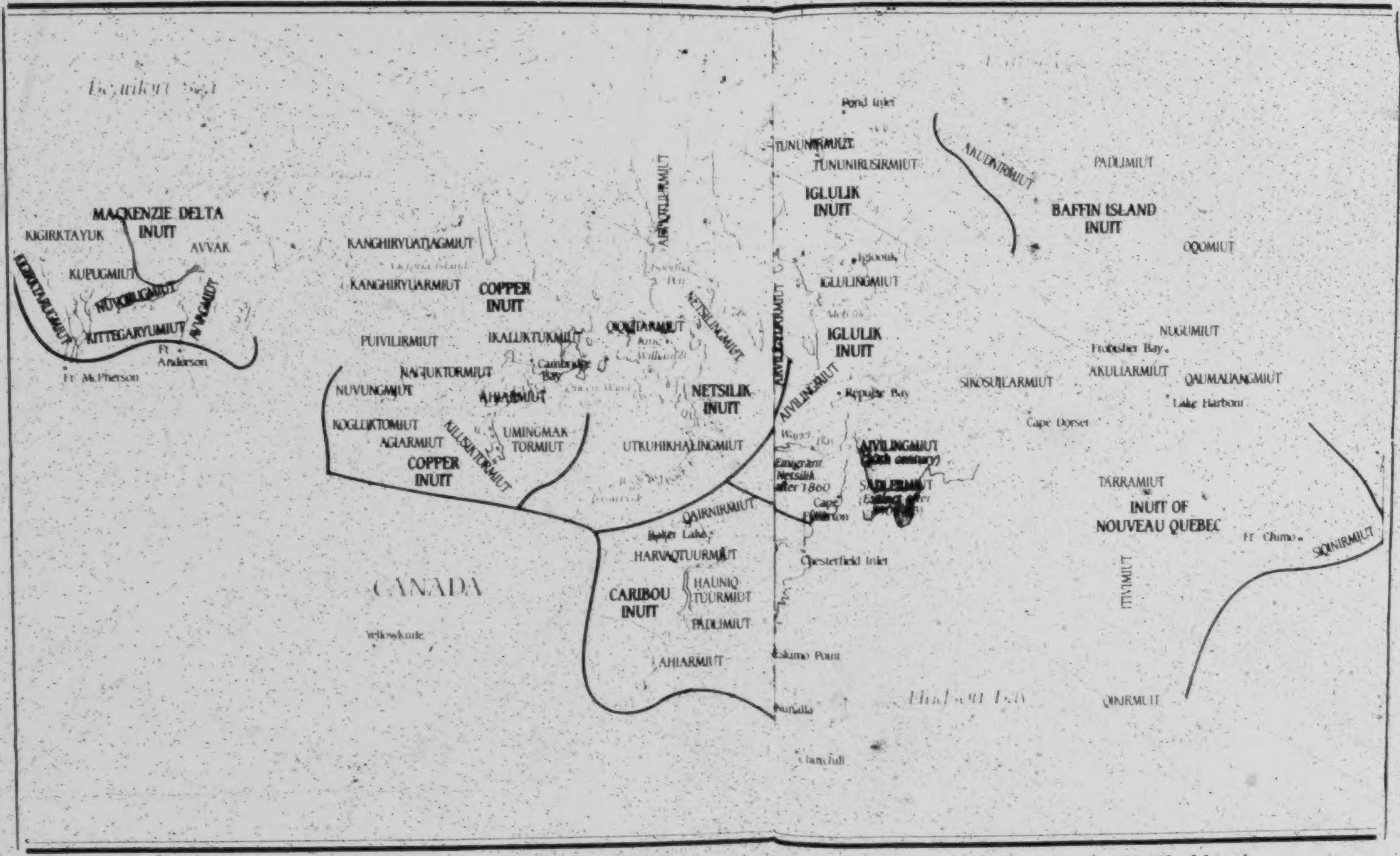
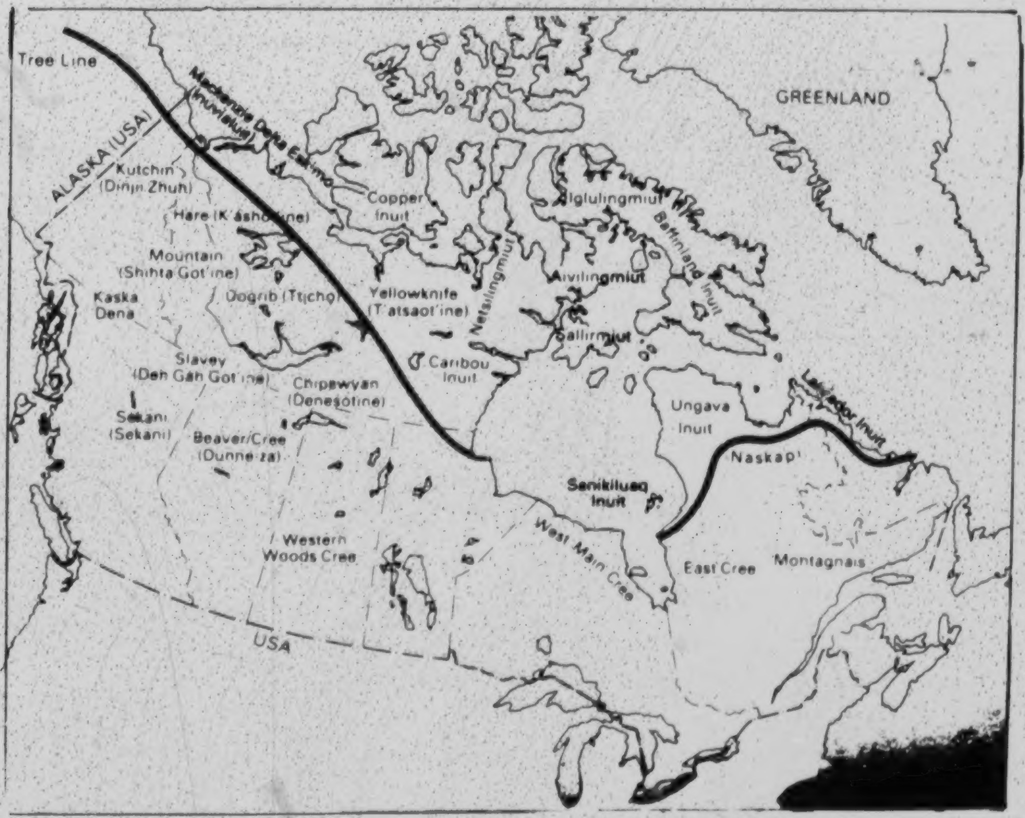
Map I. Contemporary settlement locations and historic Inuit occupations. From B. Driscoll, The Inuit Amautik: I Like My Hood to be Full. The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1980. After McGhee 1978:104.



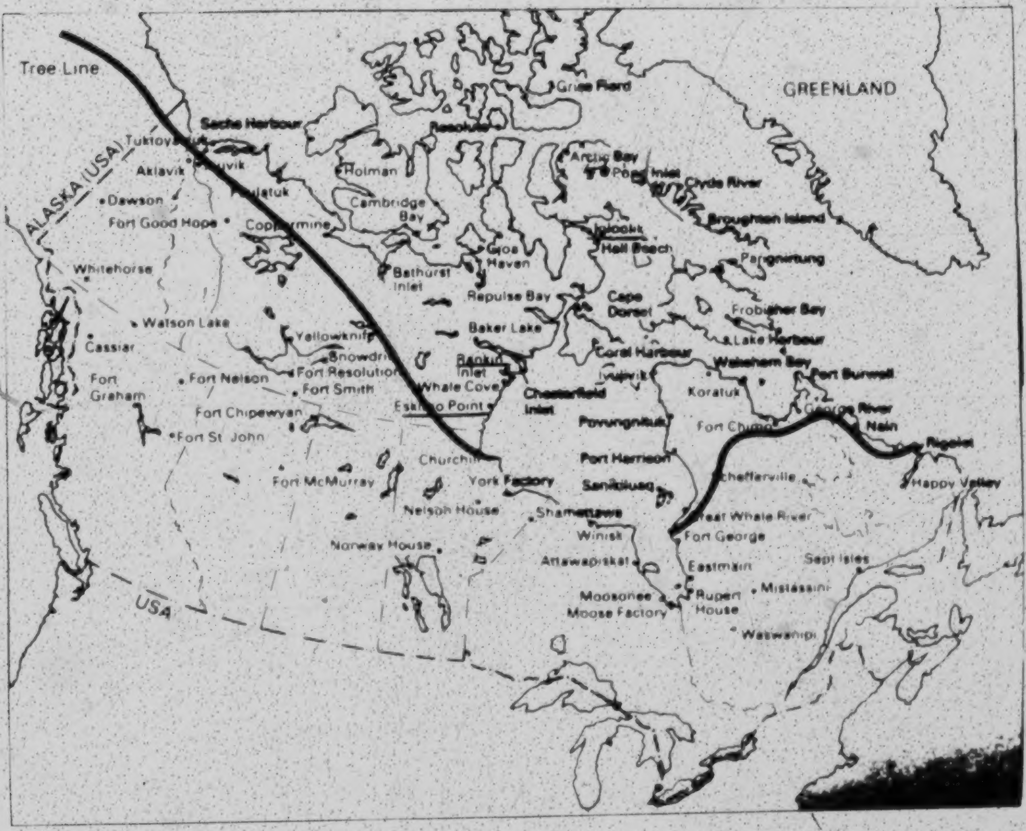
Beaufort Sea
MACKENZIE DELTA INUIT
KIGIRKTAYUK
AVVAK
KUPUGMIUT
KITTEGARYUMIUT
Ft. Anderson
Ft. McPherson
KANGHIRYUATJAGMIUT
Victoria Island
KANGHIRYUARMIUT
COPPER INUIT
PUIVILIRMIUT
IKALUKTUKMIUT
NAGJUKTORMIUT
Cambridge Bay
NUVUNGMIUT
AHIARMIUT
KOGLUKTOMIUT
AGIARMIUT
KILUSIKTORMIUT
UMINGMAK TORMIUT
COPPER INUIT
OOKTARMIUT
King William Is.
NETSILINGMIUT
NETSILIK INUIT
UTKUHIKHALINGMIUT
QAIRNIRMIUT
Baker Lake
HARVAQTUURMIUT
CARIBOU INUIT
HAUNIQ TUURMIUT
PADLIMIUT
AHIARMIUT
CANADA
Yellowknife
Pond Inlet
TUNUNIRMIUT
TUNUNIRUSIRMIUT
IGLULIK INUIT
Igloolik
IGLULINGMIUT
IGLULIK INUIT
AIVILINGMIUT
Repulse Bay
Wager Bay
AIVILINGMIUT (19th century)
Emigrant Netsilik after 1860
SADLERMIUT
Cape Fullerton
Chesterfield Inlet
Eskimo Point
Padlalla
Churchill
Hudson Bay
AKUDNIRMIUT
PADLIMIUT
BAFFIN ISLAND INUIT
OQOMIUT
NUGUMIUT
Frobisher Bay
SIKOSUILARMIUT
AKULIARMIUT
QAUMAUANGMIUT
Lake Harbour
Cape Dorset
TARRAMIUT
INUIT OF NOUVEAU QUEBEC
Ft. Chimo
SIQINIRMIUT
ITIVIMIUT
QIKIRMIUT

Map 2. Canadian Inuit Groups and Subgroups. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:172-173. Reprinted with permission.

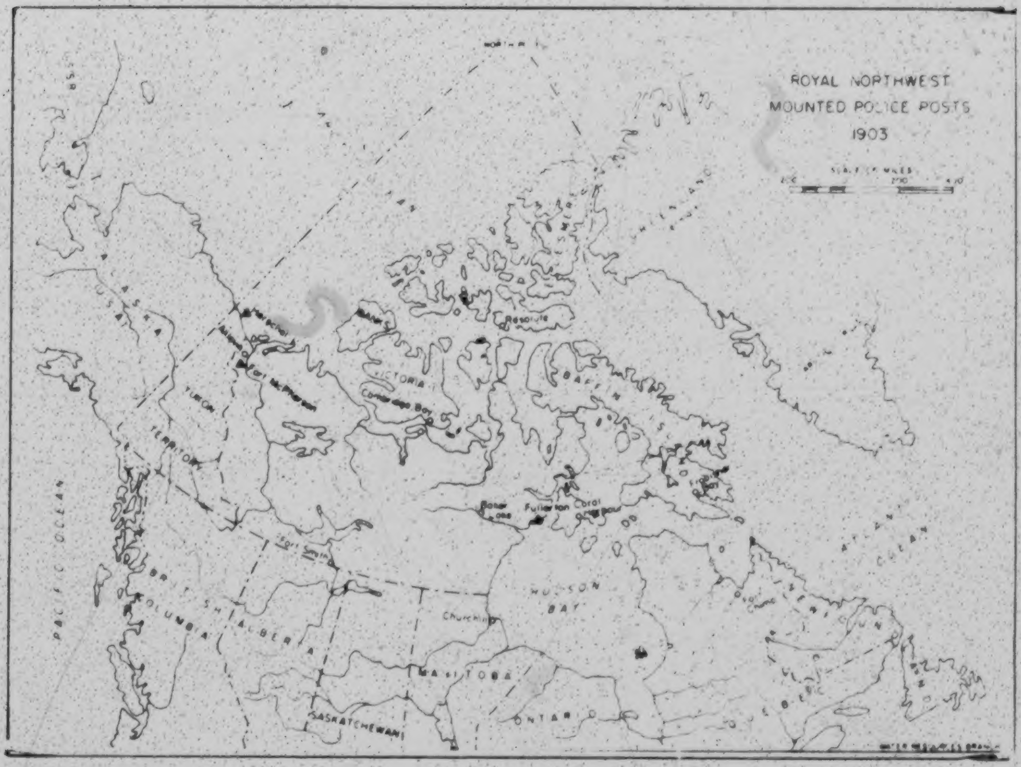

Tree Line
ALASKA (USA)
Mackenzie Delta Eskimo (Inuvialuit)
Kutchin (Dinjii Zhuh)
Hare (K'áshot'ine)
Mountain (Shihta Got'ine)
Kaska Dena
Dogrib (Tłįchǫ)
Yellowknife (T'atsaot'ine)
Copper Inuit
Netsilingmiut
Iglulingmiut
Baffinland Inuit
Aivilingmiut
Sallirmiut
Caribou Inuit
GREENLAND
Slavey (Deh Gáh Got'ine)
Chipewyan (Denesotine)
Sekani (Sekani)
Beaver/Cree (Dunne-za)
Ungava Inuit
Labrador Inuit
Naskapi
Sanikiluaq Inuit
West Main Cree
Western Woods Cree
East Cree
Montagnais
USA

Map 3. Canadian Northern Peoples as identified by anthropologists. From Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North by Hugh Brody (1987:26), Douglas & McIntyre. Reprinted by permission.

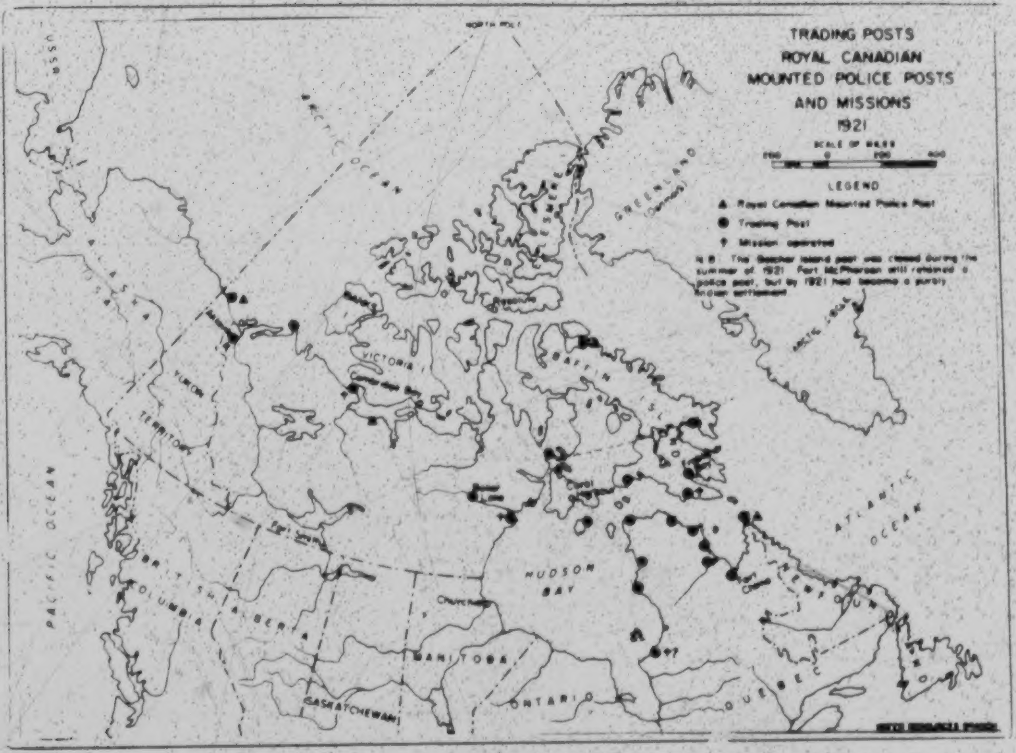
The Inuit affix 'miut' means the people of a particular social group. The place names are approximate since there are many overlaps and historical changes in distribution.


Tree Line
GREENLAND
ALASKA (USA)
USA
Grise Fiord
Sachs Harbour
Resolute
Tuktoyaktuk
Inuvik
Aklavik
Holman
Paulatuk
Dawson
Cambridge Bay
Fort Good Hope
Coppermine
Gjoa Haven
Whitehorse
Bathurst Inlet
Repulse Bay
Arctic Bay
Pond Inlet
Clyde River
Broughton Island
Igloolik
Hall Beach
Pangnirtung
Cape Dorset
Frobisher Bay
Lake Harbour
Coral Harbour
Wakeham Bay
Port Burwell
Ivujivik
Koratuk
George River
Nain
Rigolet
Watson Lake
Cassiar
Yellowknife
Snowdrift
Fort Resolution
Fort Nelson
Fort Smith
Fort Graham
Baker Lake
Rankin Inlet
Whale Cove
Eskimo Point
Chesterfield Inlet
Povungnituk
Fort Chimo
Fort Chipewyan
Fort St. John
Churchill
Fort McMurray
York Factory
Nelson House
Port Harrison
Sanikiluaq
Schefferville
Happy Valley
Shamattawa
Great Whale River
Fort George
Winisk
Norway House
Attawapiskat
Eastmain
Sept Isles
Moosonee
Moose Factory
Rupert House
Mistassini
Waswanipi

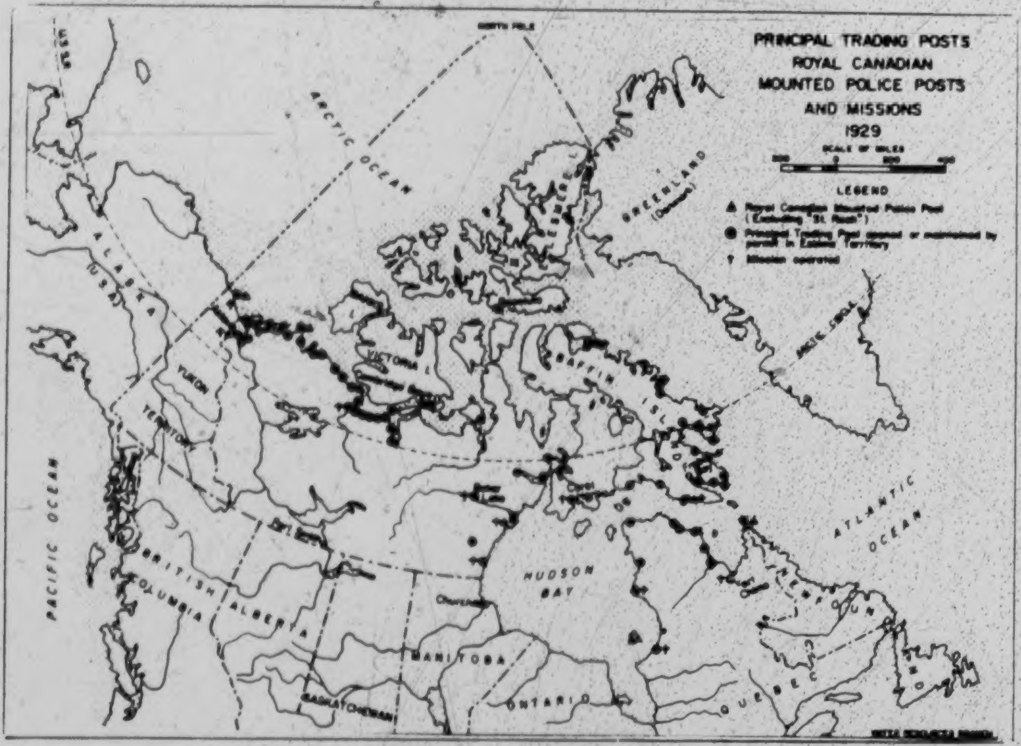
Map 4. Contemporary towns and villages of the Canadian North. From Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North by Hugh Brody (1987:30), Douglas & McIntyre. Reprinted by permission.


ROYAL NORTHWEST
MOUNTED POLICE POSTS
1903
Herschel
Fort McPherson
Resolute
VICTORIA
Cambridge Bay
BAFFIN IS.
GREENLAND
ALASKA
YUKON
TERRITORY
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Baker Lake
Fullerton
Coral Harbour
Fort Smith
HUDSON BAY
Churchill
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC

Map 5. Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts, 1903. From Jenness 1964:19. Reprinted by permission.


TRADING POSTS
ROYAL CANADIAN
MOUNTED POLICE POSTS
AND MISSIONS
1921
SCALE OF MILES
200 0 200 400
LEGEND
Royal Canadian Mounted Police Post
Trading Post
Mission operated
N.B. The Beechey Island post was closed during the summer of 1921. Fort McPherson still remained a police post, but by 1921 had become a purely Indian settlement.
NORTH POLE
U.S.S.R.
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA
YUKON TERRITORY
VICTORIA I.
BAFFIN ISLAND
HUDSON BAY
Churchill
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
ATLANTIC OCEAN

Map 6. Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts and Missions operated 1921. From Jenness 1964:24.
Reprinted by permission.


PRINCIPAL TRADING POSTS
ROYAL CANADIAN
MOUNTED POLICE POSTS
AND MISSIONS
1929
LEGEND
NORTH POLE
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ALASKA (U.S.A.)
YUKON
TERRITORY
VICTORIA I.
BAFFIN ISL.
HUDSON BAY
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
Churchill

Map 7. Principal Trading Posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Posts and Missions operated in 1929. From Jenness 1964:37. Reprinted by permission.

APPENDIX II

GLOSSARY OF INUIT DRUM DANCE TERMS

GLOSSARY OF INUIT DRUM DANCE TERMS

aijai:	The term is derived from the syllables that constitute the refrain of the traditional drum dance song. Since the wordless refrain also appears in other traditional songs, i.e., lullabies and animal songs, the term is sometimes used to refer to a whole collection of traditonal songs (Nattiez 1979:2).
aja:	The Netsilik word for drumskin or "eye" (Cavanagh 1982:69)
isiq:	The Caribou word for drumskin (Arna'naaq 1987:16)
idlug:	song cousins, that is, dancing associates
ipjuutaq:	"the prying instrument" (Arna'naaq 1987:16)
ipu:	The Caribou word for wooden handle (Arna'naaq 1987:16)
katuk:	the beater, wrapped with sinew or padded at one end with caribou skin
kitikkiut:	"the tie down implement" (Arna'naaq 1987:16) (the sinews that tie down the skin over the drumhead)
pablu:	The Copper word for wooden handle (Rasmussen 1932)
pisiq:	Today the term refers to the whole collection of traditional song. The category includes drum dance songs and implies both the text/poem and song/melody (Nattiez 1979:2).
qilaut:	the drum
qaqqi:	the song house
sukattijut:	"the stretching group that places and ties down the skin over the drum frame" (Arna'naaq 1987:16)
tusairiat:	"People who have come to hear and listen ... when people start coming to watch and listen to the drum dance procession we say they have come to hear" (Arna'naaq 1987:16).

APPENDIX III

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

APPENDIX III

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration:

1. Six photographs of Copper Drum Dance by the Danish photographer L. Hansen.

2. Three historic drawings of drum dance event: Hall, Rasmussen and Jenness.

3. Historic drawing by Birket-Smith of a singer presenting his song without a drum.

4. Thalbitzer's photo (circa 1906) of competitive drum dance in Greenland, emphasizing direct eye contact

5. Thalbitzer's photo (circa 1906) of competitive drum dance, emphasizing an aggressive stance

6. Parry's drawing of cutting snow blocks

7. Historic drawings of igloo space

8. The explorer Lyon's drawing of Iglulik children practicing on a small "toy" drum

Illustration I. Six Photographs of Copper drum dance by the Danish photographer L. Hansen. (Rasmussen 1932:141-142)

Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

Situations during the dance in the dance house

Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

Illustration 1 (cont'd)

Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

Woman doing a dance

Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

Hikhik dancing in the dance house
(From Rasmussen 1932:124)

Illustration 1 (cont'd)

Illustration removed due to
unavailability of copyright
permission.

Heq with the big drum used for song and dance
(From Rasmussen 1932:124)

Illustration 1 (cont'd)

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At the Dolphin and Union Strait the Expedition was present at a song feast where all were clad in festival dress of thin-haired caribou skin with white belly-skin as a decoration down over the breast. The leading dancer wears a cap terminating in the beak of a loon, the bird of song. Round him a chorus of men and women. (From Rasmussen 1932:221)

Illustration 2. Three historic drawings of Drum Dance event: Hall, Rasmussen and Jenness.

Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

a. Playing the Kev-low-tik. C. F. Hall's drawing of a drum dance event. Nourse Book (1879:96) of C. F. Hall's Narrative.

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Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

b. Singing in the festival house; the women's chorus on the bed-sitting platform. From Rasmussen 7(I):129.

c. Copper drum dance. Drawing by the MacKenzie Eskimo Palaiyak. From Jenness 1922:226.

Illustration 3. Drawing by Birket-Smith of a singer presenting his song without a drum.

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(From Rasmussen 1929, VII:281)

Illustration 4. Thalbitzer's photo (circa 1906) of competitive drum dance in Greenland, emphasizing direct eye contact. From K. Birket-Smith Eskimos 1972.

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Illustration 5. Thalbitzer's photo (circa 1906) of competitive drum dance, emphasizing an aggressive stance.

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Drum fight at summer camp near Angmagssalik. Thalbitzer's photo (circa 1906) of a competitive drum dance, emphasizing an aggressive stance. From K. Birket-Smith, Eskimos 1972.

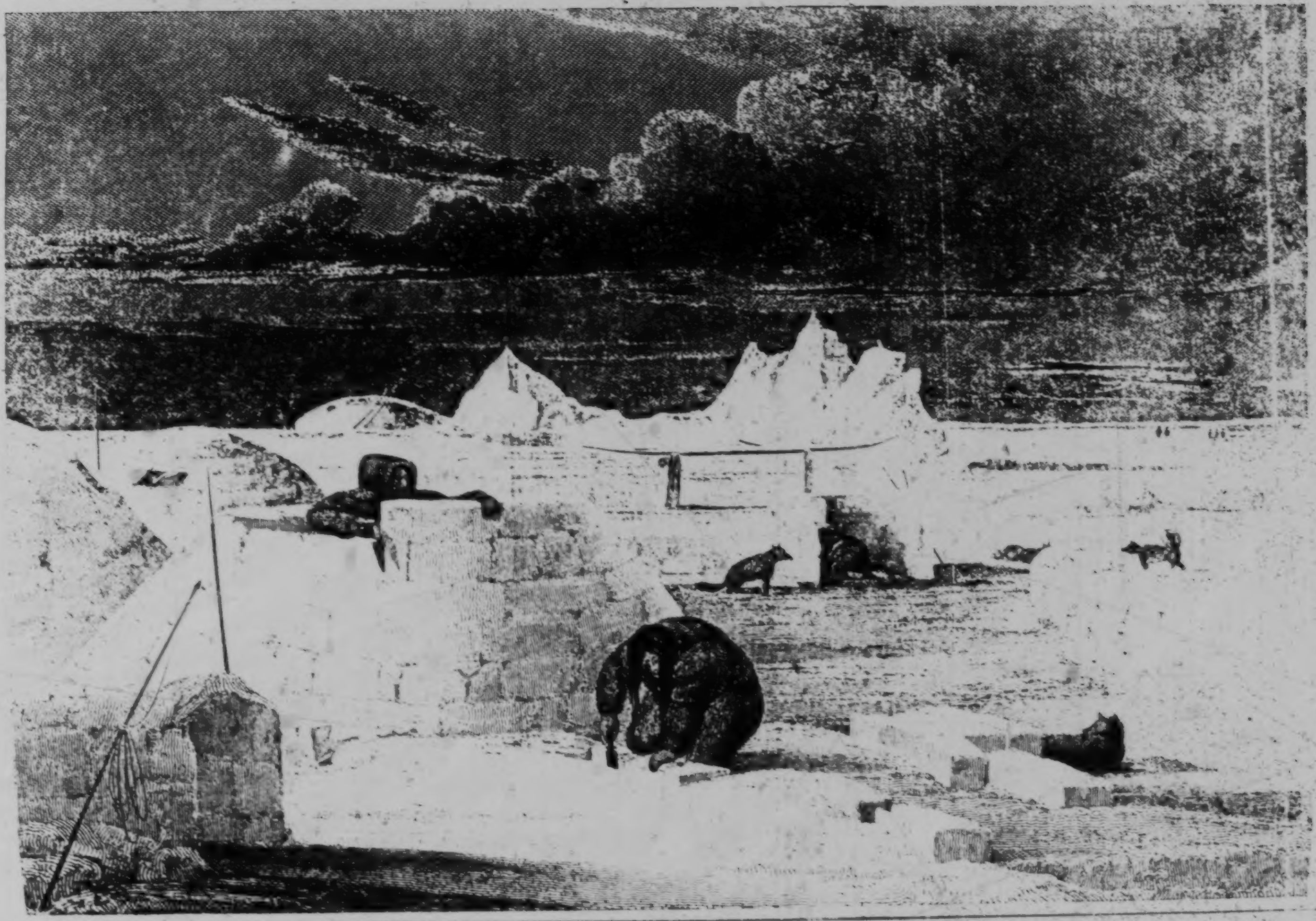

Illustration 6. Lyon's Drawing of Cutting Snow Blocks. From Parry's Journal of the Second Voyage for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage 1821-1823.

Illustration 7. Historic Drawings of Igloo Space

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b. Boas' observation (circa 1886) of separated spatial arrangement between the men and women in a Southern Baffin Island drum dance event (1964:192).

a. Jenness' drawing (1922:71) of a two-roomed dwelling opening onto a dance house.

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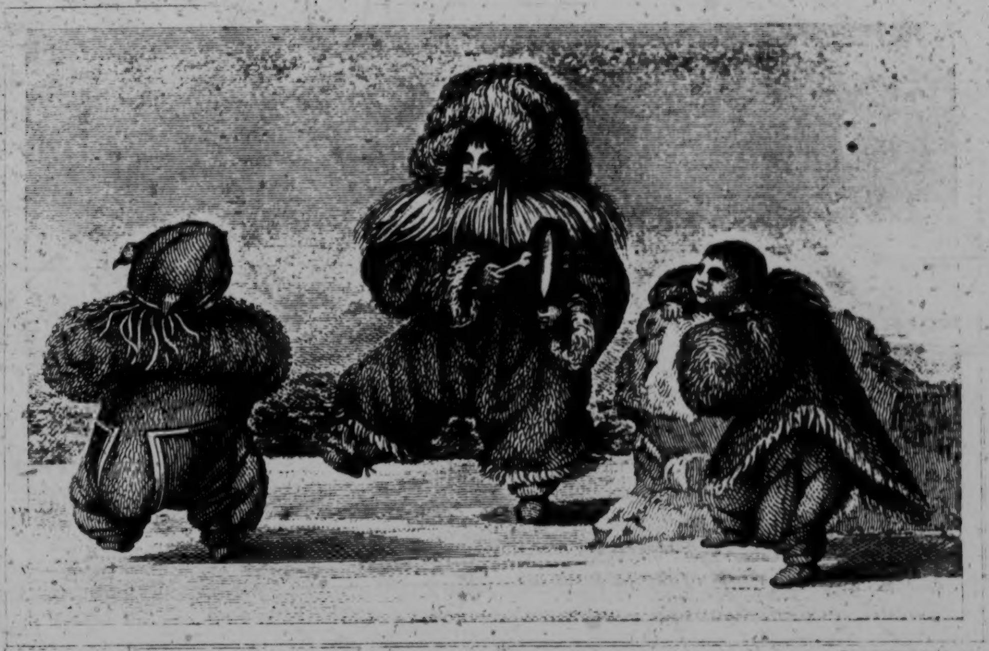
c. Hall's plan of a Hudson Bay qaqqi, as produced in Boas (1964:193).

d. Parry's observation of a stone structure believed to be the remains of a permanent qaqqi, as produced in Boas (1964:195).



Drawn by Capt.n Lyon. Engraved by Edw.d Finden

ESKIMAUX CHILDREN DANCING.

Published Jan.y 1828 by John Murray London

Illustration 8. The explorer Lyon's (1821-1823) drawing of Iglulik children practicing on a small "toy" drum. Source: Parry's Journal of the Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage, Vol. III:1828.

APPENDIX IV

TRADITIONAL DISPLAY FEATURES

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Illustration:

1. Traditional Lighting
2. Drum Dance at Eskimo Point (circa 1933). Painting by Winifred Marsh.
3. Example of Copper Dance Dress (front)
4. Copper Dress with Ermine Skin Amulets
5. A front and back view of Copper dance dress
6. a. Dance Hat, Copper Inuit, 1915.
   b. Woman's circular skull dance hat, Copper Inuit
7. The Man's Hooded Inner Shirt or Atigi
8. The Man's Beaded Inner parka
9. Netsilik Inuit Men's Parka
10. Animal imagery promoted by the Long Tailed Back panel
11. Women's Summer Dress Parka
12. Woman's Beaded, Caribou Amautik
13. Inuit Women's Amautik
14. A Woman's Apron-like Design Ornamentation
15. Personal Ornaments - brow bands, earrings, et cetera
16. Personal Ornaments - female tattooing
17. A Baker Lake artist visualizes animal imagery with drum dancing

Illustration 1. Traditional Lighting
The crescent shaped soapstone vessel used for light. It is filled with seal oil and edged with a wick of burning moss. Marsh Collection 1971. Source: Inuit: Catalogue to the Material on Exhibition in Alloway Hall (1971). Reprinted by permission of Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, Winnipeg.

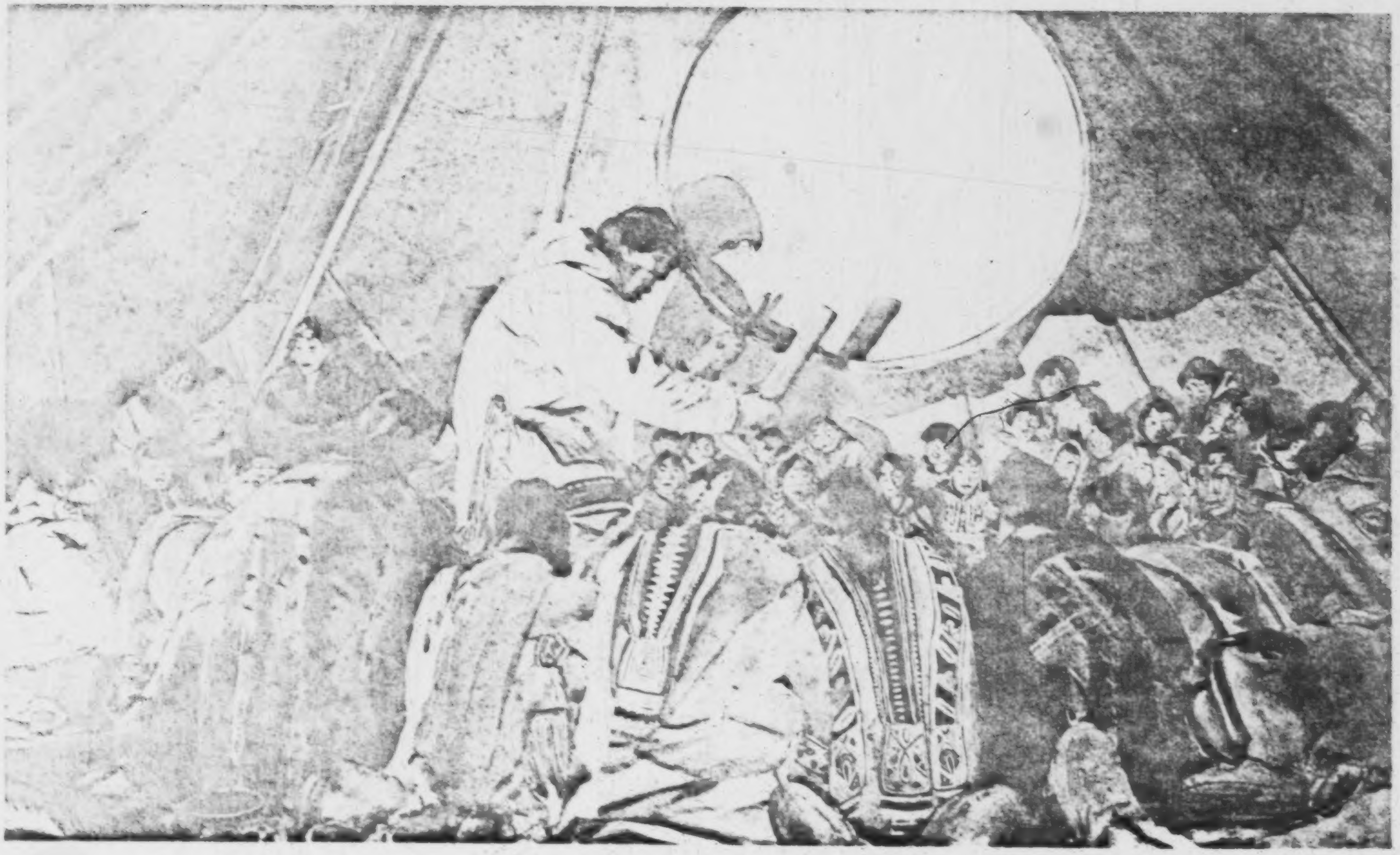

Illustration 2. Drum Dance at Eskimo Point (circa 1933). Painting by Winifred Marsh. Source: People of the Willow: Padlimuit Tribe of the Caribou Eskimo. 1976:25. Reprinted with permission.

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unavailability of copyright
permission.

Illustration 3. Example of Copper Dance Dress (front). Front view of the Copper dress jacket with front chest panels. Possibly 1931. National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Source: The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:191.

Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

Illustration 4. Copper Dress with Ermine Skin Amulets on the Back. Dance costume, Copper Inuit. National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnography, Copenhagen. Source: The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:189.

Illustration 5. A front and back view of Copper Dance Dress.

Illustration 5. has been removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

The Copper (the *Ahungahungarmiut*) man's dancing dress. Made of short-haired deerskin, it is cut away obliquely at the bottom so that the lower edge forms a kind of broad rounded flap. In the back are wide shoulder gussets, and on the chest two trapeze form inserts narrowing downwards. From Birket-Smith 1945:142.

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Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

Figure 6a. Dance Hat.
Copper Inuit, collected c. 1915.
University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
NA 4233. L:33, W:17. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:190.

Figure 6b. The woman's circular skull dance hat, collected 1901-02. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1903.6-15.1. L:30. Copper Inuit. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:190.

Illustration 7. The Man's Hooded Inner Shirt or Atigi

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Man's inner jacket dress from Padlimuit at Eskimo Point.
From K. Birket-Smith 1929:200.

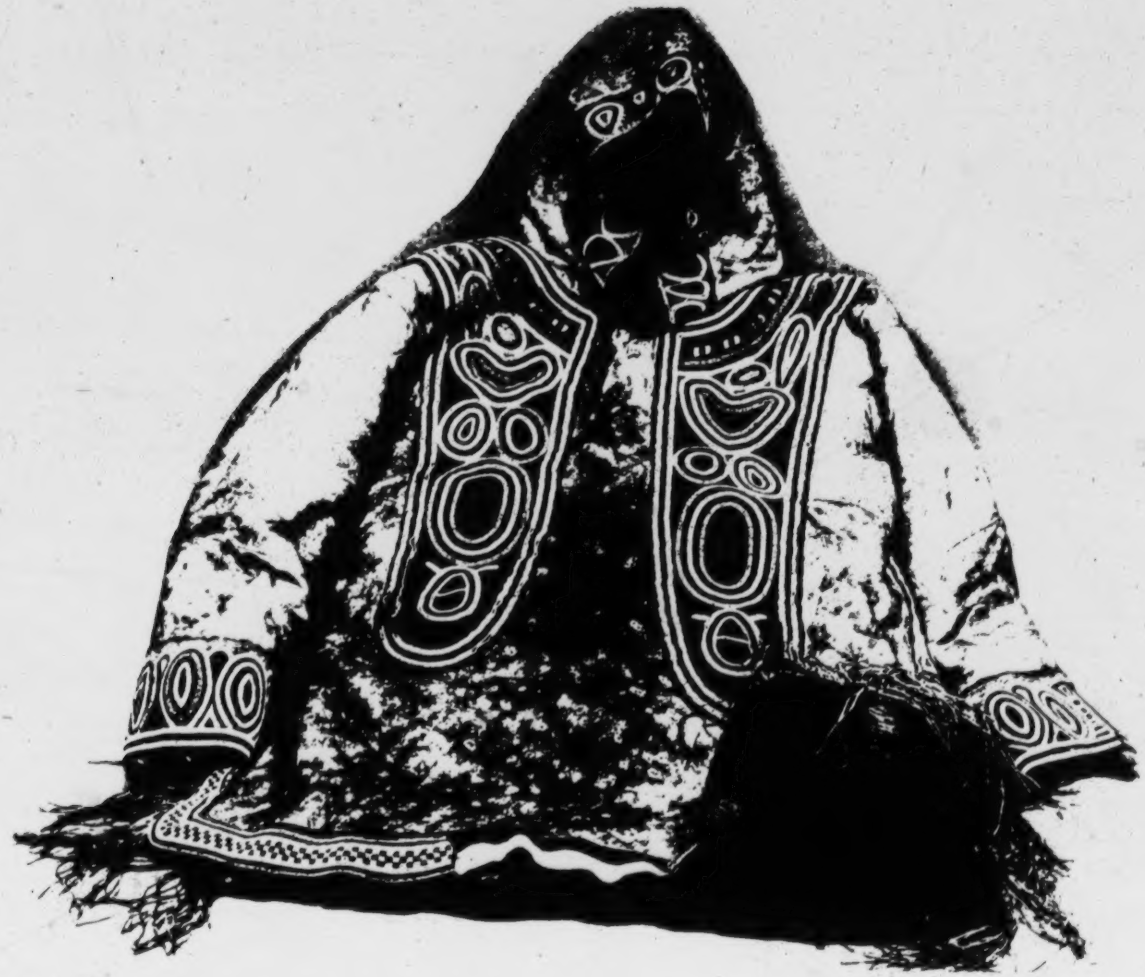
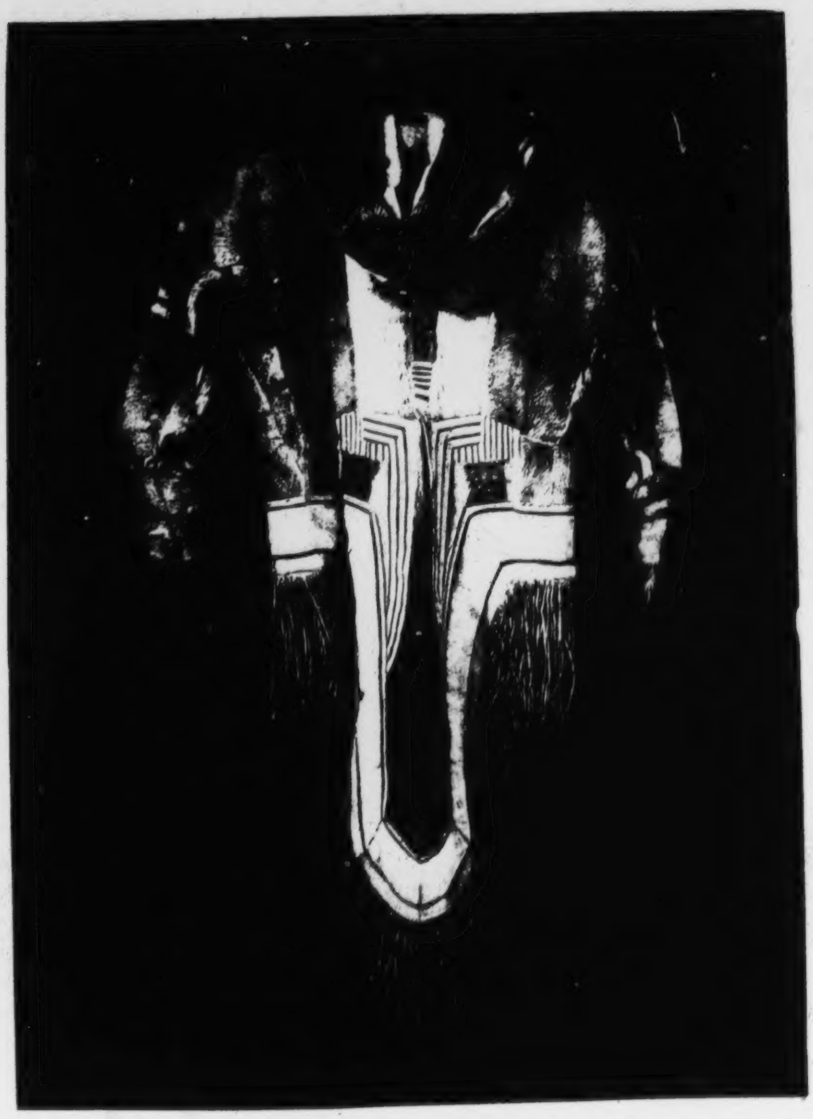


Illustration 8. The Man's Beaded Inner Parka.
Brightly colored cloth provides a backing for a wide variety of design motifs, often occurring over the area of the chest, centre back, across the shoulders. Wide borders around the hood, cuff and lower edges of the jacket dress emphasize the specific action points of the head, knees and wrist. Marsh Collection, 1971. Source: Inuit: Catalogue to the Material on Exhibition in Alloway Hall (1971). Reprinted by permission from Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, Winnipeg.

Illustration 9. Netsilik Inuit Men's Parka



Netsilik Inuit men's parka, back view. The fur is thicker than the Copper Inuit parka. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987: 179. Collected by the Norwegian explorer 1903-1905. Reprinted by permission from the Ethnographic Museum, University of Oslo.

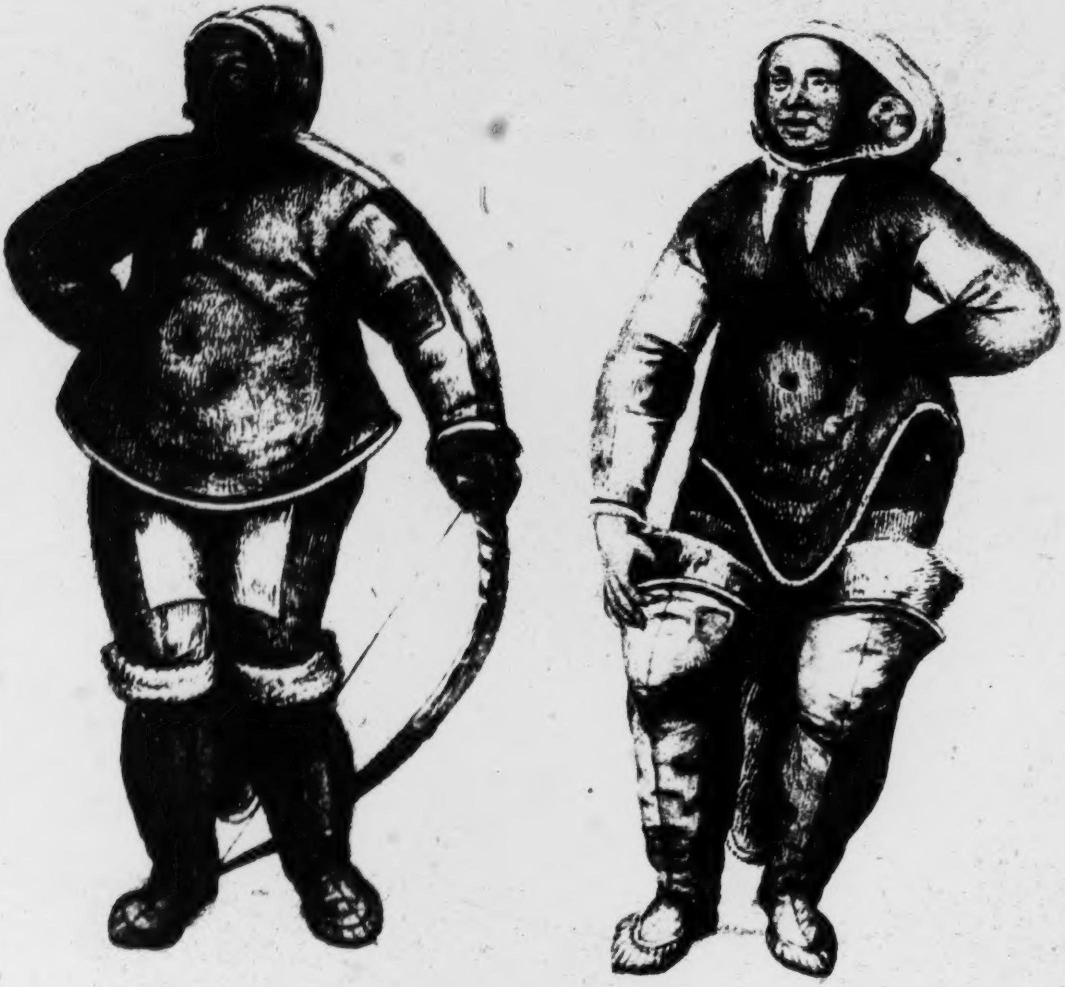


Illustration 10. Animal Imagery Promoted by the Long-Tailed Back Panel.

Water color from the Frobisher Expedition 1577. (Attributed to John White). The clothing syle worn by both men and women in Southern Baffin Island at the time of European contact emphasizes the animal imagery, suggested by the long tail. From The Spirit Sings (1987:177), McClelland and Stewart. Reprinted by permission from the Museum of Mankind, London.

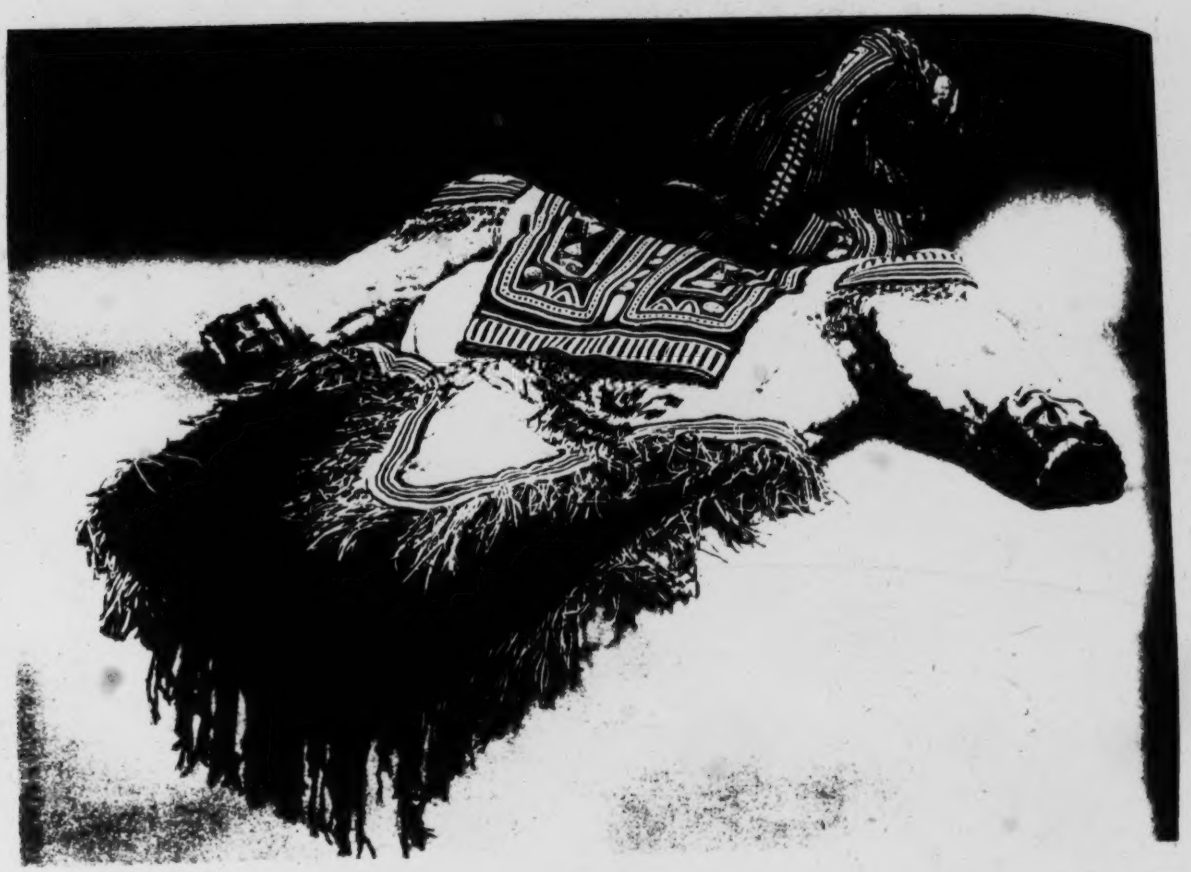


Illustration 11. Women's Summer Dress Parka. Marsh Collection 1971. Source: Inuit: Catalogue to the Material on Exhibition in Alloway Hall (1971). Reprinted by permission from Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, Winnipeg.

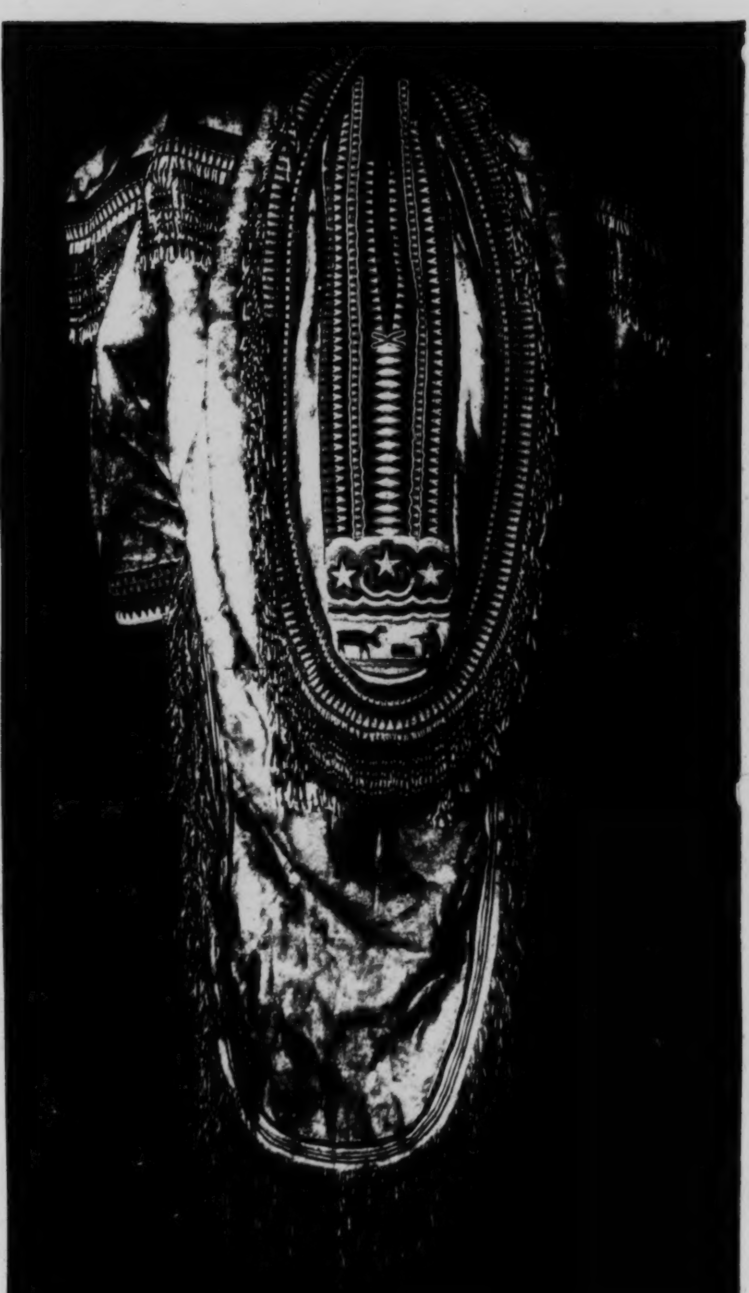


Illustration 12. Woman's beaded, caribou amautik, Avilingmuit. Collected at Cape Fullerton by Captain Comer in 1906. American Museum of Natural History, New York. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:199. Reprinted by permission of the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Illustration removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

Illustration 13. The Inuit Women's Amautik. Women in beaded *atigi*. A. P. Low Expedition 1903-04. From Driscoll 1980:10. The Inuit Amautik: I Like My Hood to be Full, Winnipeg Art Gallery.

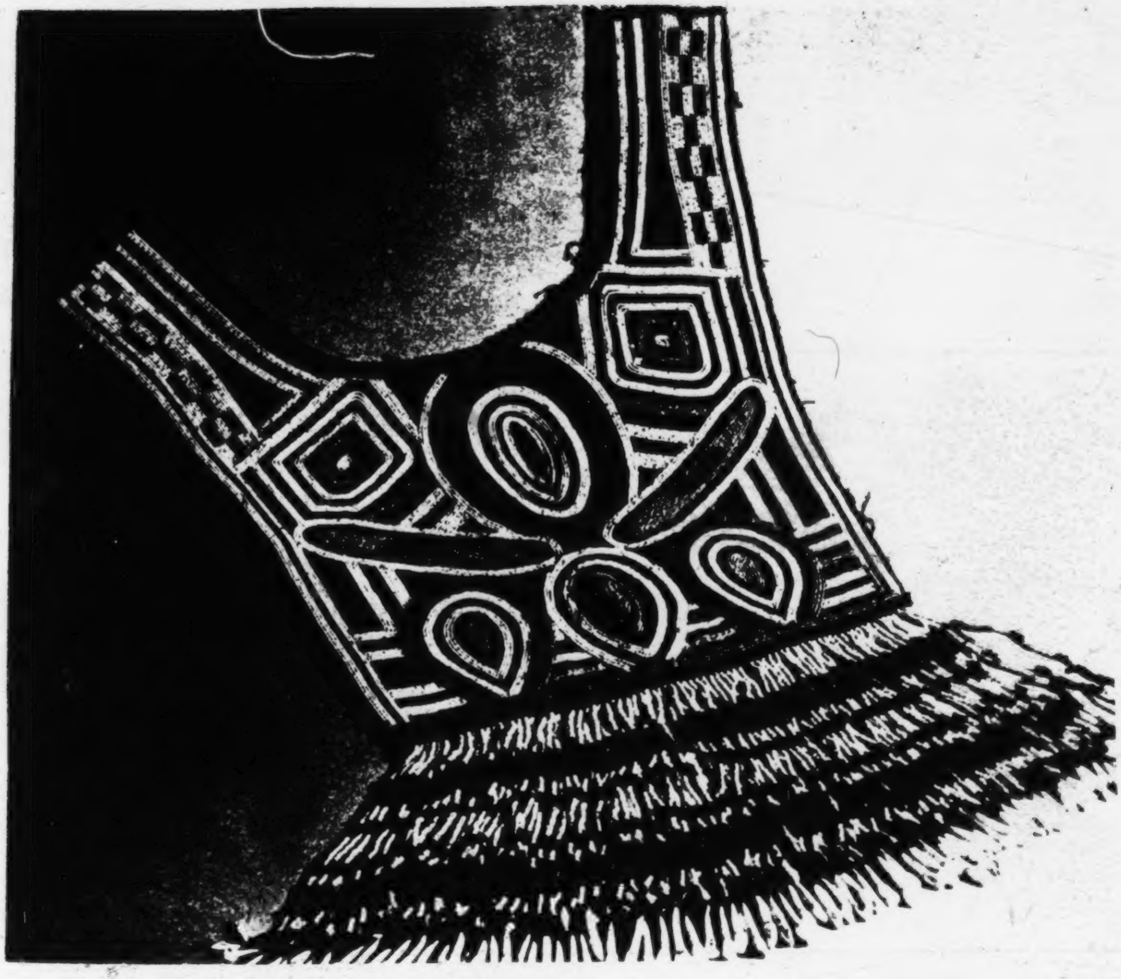


Illustration 14. A woman's apron-like design ornamentation.

The beadwork is placed on blue shrouding. The bottom fringe made from beads and muskox teeth. Marsh Collection 1971. Source: Inuit: Catalogue to the Material on Exhibition in Alloway Hall (1971). Reprinted by permission from Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, Winnipeg.

APPENDIX IV

Personal Ornaments

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unavailability of copyright permission.

(a) Woman's brow band, (b) man's do, (c) breast ornament, (d) ear ornaments, (e) ear ornament, (f-h) hair sticks.

Illustration 15. Brow bands and personal ornaments. From K. Birket-Smith 1929:226.

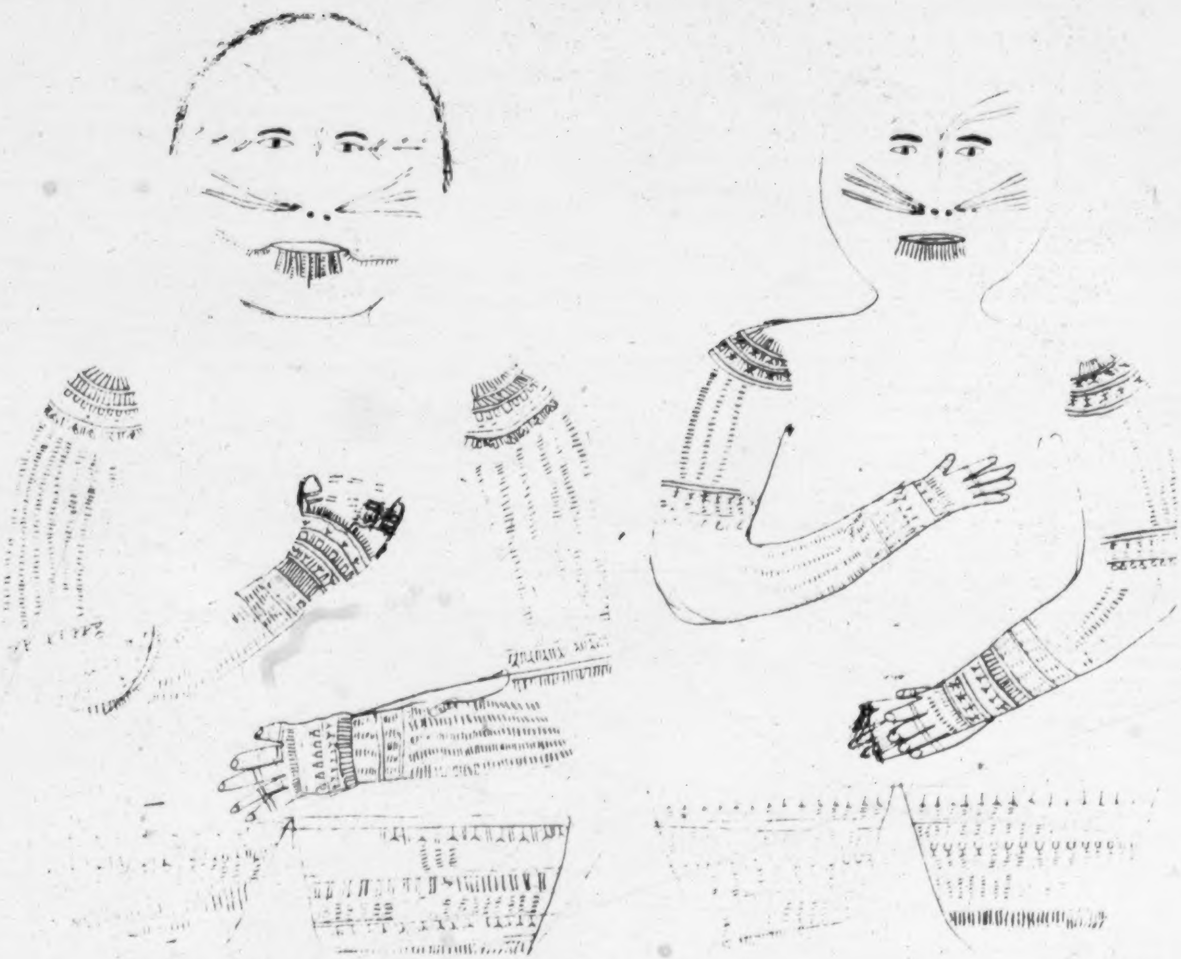

Illustration 16. Female Tattooing.
Drawing of female tattooing by Arnarulunguaq, Netsilik region. National Museum of Denmark, Department of Ethnography, Copenhagen. From The Spirit Sings, McClelland and Stewart 1987:197. Reprinted by permission of the Department of Ethnography, The National Museum of Denmark.

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unavailability of copyright permission.

Illustration 17. A Baker Lake print-artist visualizes animal imagery with drum dancing. Luke Anguhadluq, 1974. From Driscoll: 1980: 42.

APPENDIX V

INUIT SONG EXAMPLES

1. Iglulik: Cold and Mosquitoes
2. Iglulik: A Magic Prayer
3. Iglulik: Words Which Make Heavy Things Light
4. Netsilik: A Song of Derision
5. Copper: Dead Man's Song
6. Northern Lights

INUIT SONGS

1. Iglulik: Cold and Mosquitoes

(told to Rasmussen 1929:18-19, by the storyteller and singer Ivaluartjuk)

Poem removed due to
unavailability of copyright
permission.

2. Iglulik: A Magic Prayer

(told to Rasmussen 1929:47 by Aua, Iglulik shaman and Ivaluartjuk's half-brother)

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unavailability of copyright
permission.

3. Iglulik: Words Which Make Heavy Things Light

(told to Rasmussen 1929: 166, c. 1870, by Aua, Iglulik shaman)

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unavailability of copyright
permission.

4. Netsilik: A Song of Derision

(told to the anthropologist Balikci by Orpingalik's daughter, c. 1960. Source: Balikci 1970:143-4)

Poem removed due to
unavailability of copyright
permission.

5. Copper: Dead Man's Song

(told to Rasmussen by the Copper poet and story-teller Netsit, circa 1923. Rasmussen 1932:136-8)

Poem removed due to
unavailability of copyright
permission.

6. Northern Lights

Dance, dance across the night skies
Dance, dance a tune unheard, to a tune uncomposed
Seemingly mystical, drawing fear to a child's mind
Drawing curiosity to a man of science
It is believed you will behead me
If I whistle and intrude in your dancing games
Mothers and fathers have told us so
We show respect to your dancing games
But still, we do not understand why you dance so
Fathers have said you light their paths
During their travels through the night
Mothers have said you have beheaded
And played games of ballet with the head of the foolish one
Oh may I hear the tune you dance to
Oh may I know why you exist so
Dance, dance across the night skies
Dance, dance to a tune unheard, to a tune uncomposed.

(Kowmageak Arnakalak, Northern Lights.
Inuit Today 4, 7 (July/August 1975) 47)
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Canada.

APPENDIX VI

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

1. The Origin of the Sun and the Moon
2. The Iglulik Woman Uvavnuk
3. The Legend of Tikisiak
4. The Raven and the Loon
5. The Owl and the Marmot

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE SUN AND THE MOON

(told by Ivaluardjuk. From Rasmussen 1929:7(1):81)

Legend removed due to the unavailability of copyright permission.

2. THE IGLULIK WOMAN UVAVNUK

(from Rasmussen 1929:7:122-123)

Legend removed due to
unavailability of copyright
permission.

3. THE LEGEND OF TIKISIAK

(Source: Northern Voices, edited by Penny Petrone 1987:48-50.
Copyright: Inuktitut May 1982:71)

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Legend of Tikisiak removed due to unavailability of copyright permission.

4. THE RAVEN AND THE LOON

(told by Kibkarjuk. From Rasmussen 1929:7(1):110)

Myth removed due to
unavailability of copyright
permission.

7

5. THE OWL AND THE MARMOT

(Told by Ivaluardjuk. From Rasmussen 1929:278-279)

Myth removed due to
unavailability of copyright
permission.

APPENDIX VII

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A DRUM

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A DRUM*

The drum frame is made from a long strip of wood that has been softened by dipping into boiling water and the two extremities bent round until they overlap each other into a perfect hoop. A small hole drilled through the extremities (placed one on top of the other) enables the frame to be tightly secured with sinew or modern nails. At the place of the overlap a round wooden handle (approximately 30mm long) is notched for the purpose of securing it tightly to the edge of the frame. The fitted handle also serves the practical function of providing a place to tuck the beater under the rim when the drum is not in use.

A thin skin, preferably caribou, is prepared by soaking and scrapping. The wet, clean skin is then "stretched down over the drum rim with great care" (Birket-Smith 1929:268). The long strips of sinew are pulled taut by wrapping around the centre of the wood frame (approximately three times) and then securing it at the handle. The skin is periodically stretched and tightened by moistening procedures that correct the tension to produce a good and full tone.

The drum beater, or katuk, ~~is~~ also made of wood (approximately 35mm long and 5mm in diameter). The fore-end of the beater is frequently wrapped with the sinew of bearded seal. Also, the stick-like beater can be padded with caribou skin, the skin secured by thongs of bearded seal at the neck of the bottle-shaped beater. The beater handle is perfectly plain or unadorned, but roughly shaped to fit the handle.

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[*] For the relative dimensions of a Keewatin drum and beater, as well as terminology used in drum construction, see Luke Arna'naaq's article in Isumasi, 1(March):1987:16.